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EDITORIAL

It is perhaps not generally known that there were originally several other varieties of Anabaptists in Moravia in addition to the Hutterites. Of all the half dozen or more groups which flourished for a time in that most tolerant of lands in the Reformation period, the Hutterites alone survived. Just why this was the case would form the subject of an interesting essay. Having survived however, down to the present time, they have produced and preserved a considerable amount of literature. The recovery of this literature in the past several decades has led to research which has begun to make the moving story of this thoroughly Christian communistic group available to the world of historical scholarship at large, although the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica still does not include an article dealing with the Hutterites. In view of the difficulty with which the Hutterite history has been brought to light, it is not surprising to know that very little at all has been learned of the history of the other groups which flourished but a few brief years, and which have left little if any literature. Gradually however scholars are discovering material on even these lesser groups. Perhaps the most important of these groups was the so-called Philippite Brethren, named after their leader, Philip Plener. The Review is fortunate in being able to present in this issue the interesting and valuable study by Dr. Robert Friedmann of Vienna, Austria, on a booklet written by Hans Haffner,

one of the Philippite Brethren. Dr. Friedmann knows how the concept of "resignation" dominated the religious thinking of the Philippite group, and suggests that this was the major difference between this group and the Hutterites. He points out at the same time that the negative, ascetic character of this dominant conception was probably the reason for the failure of the group to maintain itself.

The editors welcome Dr. Friedmann to the REVIEW and hope he will become a frequent contributor. He has won for himself a place as a recognized authority in the history of the Anabaptists of Tyrol, Austria, and Moravia, and is engaged at the present in fruitful research in early Hutterite sources. He is one of the cooperating editors participating in the great series of publications of Anabaptist sources known as the *Täufer-Akten*, now being published by the German *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte*. Attention is also called to the abstract of an article by Dr. Friedmann in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, which is given by Dr. Neff in this issue in the department headed "Research Notes."

AFTER AN INTERVAL OF TIME DURING WHICH ADDITIONAL MATERIAL has been gathered, John Umble resumes his valuable series of sketches of early Mennonite Sunday Schools in Ohio. Many readers of the REVIEW have been awaiting with much expectation the continuance of the series which began some time ago with the history of the Sunday Schools about West Liberty, Ohio. In this issue Professor Umble presents the first of a series of three short sketches of Mennonite Churches and Sunday Schools in Northwestern Ohio. The others will follow in the next issue. Although the congregations to be discussed in these sketches never became prosperous, their history is nevertheless valuable, for these smaller churches are typical of dozens of similar settlements, most of which are not able to maintain themselves, and have gradually disappeared. There are literally scores of such cases throughout the Mennonite Church.

THE RECENT MIGRATIONS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF RUSSIAN MENNONITES to Canada and South America have aroused renewed interest in the history of Mennonite colonization in the past. The largest more or less unified migratory movement of Mennonites in history was also one of the greatest movements of thousands of Russian Mennonites to America in the years 1873 to 1880, when great numbers settled on the wide prairies of the Northwest in the United States and Canada. Professor C. Henry Smith's recent

book, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* has told the story of this movement very well. Material on the movement is constantly coming to light. Several of the twelve delegates who came to America in 1873 to investigate conditions preparatory to the migration, kept diaries. That of Leonhard Sudermann, *"Eine Deputationsreise,"* was early published in booklet form. The Review is happy to be able to present in this issue a hitherto unpublished diary of the leading Hutterite delegate in the group of twelve, namely, the young minister Paul Tschetter. The translation and editing of the diary is the work of J. M. Hofer, Professor of History at Bethel College in Newton, Kansas. Because of its length the diary is being printed in two instalments. In connection with the second and final instalment which is to come in the July issue of the Review, original maps showing the routes followed by the party of investigation will be given. The diary is of value not only as giving a detailed account of the tour of investigation, but also because of its interesting account of the visit among the Mennonites of Elkhart County, Indiana, as well as the call on President Grant together with the petition presented to him. Considerable other source material on this migration is available for publication in the Review as soon as space is available.

In the discussion of the "Faith of the Swiss Brethren" which has reached its third instalment, John Horsch takes up in this issue the teaching of the Brethren on some of the central points of Christian theology. The discussion of the doctrines of sin, salvation and sanctification as held by the Swiss Brethren is particularly interesting and valuable. In view of the conclusive evidence presented by the author as to the thoroughly Biblical and evangelical views of the Brethren, it becomes increasingly more difficult to understand how it has been possible for so many outstanding scholars to have misinterpreted their position. Possibly this has been true because of their predilection for reading the attacks of the biased opponents of the brethren rather than the writings of the Brethren themselves. When John Horsch has completed his series it will however be impossible to plead ignorance of the truth regarding the real faith of the Swiss Brethren, and it is this group which represents the purest, and most original form of Anabaptism.

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CONCERNING THE TRUE SOLDIER OF CHRIST

A Hitherto Unknown Tract of the Philippite Brethren in Moravia

Dr. Robert Friedmann, Vienna

In the history of the Anabaptist movement, Moravia plays an outstanding role, as is well known. Here the Brethren found generous tolerance at the hands of the nobility and were permitted to establish their congregations in peace and quiet—a peace which was, it is true, frequently disturbed by an imperial mandate—and to begin a new primitive Christian life. After Balthazar Hubmaier left Nikolsburg there were three groups which attempted to develop the real essence of Anabaptism: the well-known churches of the Hutterites on the one hand, then the church of the Philippites (so named after Philip Plener or Blauärmel), which had settled in Auspitz on the lands of the Abbess of Maria Saal, and finally the church of the Gabrielites at Rossitz, led by Gabriel Ascherham or Kürschner. Originally these three groups formed a unit although each possessed its own independent leaders. Soon however an unfortunate and unavoidable division arose, since each of these three leaders wished to establish a variant form of the new Anabaptist life. A comprehensive survey of all this is given in the large *Geschichtbuch* ("Chronicle") of the Hutterian Brethren (pp. 76-101), so that it is not necessary to discuss this further here. The Hutterian Brethren, as is well known, have been able to maintain themselves through all the storms of history to the present day. The Gabrielites left Moravia soon after the split of 1533 and lived in Silesia until they were gradually reunited with the Hutterites (1545). Concerning the Philippites, however, it is necessary to give a more detailed discussion, since their history is to the present time not well known.

At first the Philippites lived not far from the Hutterites and occasionally came in contact with them at Auspitz, 1533-35. Up to the present time nothing at all had been known about any of their writings, so that it has been impossible to form a sound judgment of the inner character of the personality of Philip Plener. We know only that he came from Strasburg and that later, after he was

driven out of Moravia, he returned by way of Württemberg and Strasburg to the Palatinate.[1] Naturally what the *Geschichtbuch* reports about him is partial and is not verified as yet by other sources. Little has become known about the teachings which his group upheld, except that they rejected communism in the form which the Hutterites adopted. The group was not permitted to continue its life in peace very long, for soon came critical days, in which the new faith was to be put to the test. When the tragedy of Münster in 1535 had collapsed, the brethren in Moravia soon felt the reaction although they had absolutely no connections with Münster. Strict mandates of Ferdinand I compelled the nobles who had been tolerant toward the Anabaptists to drive the Brethren from their lands. It is from this period for instance that the moving letter of Jacob Hutter comes, which begins "Nun ligen wir hier auf der heiden unter freiem Himmel," which has often been reprinted (cf. *Geschichtbuch*, p. 110 f.). The Philippites were driven away just like the Hutterites. Indeed the Abbess of Maria Saal was one of the first to apply radical and merciless methods in driving the Brotherhood away. In contrast with the Hutterian group which suffered its hard lot as a united group and consequently soon was able to return to its former places of abode, Philip Plener soon left his people, according to the report in the *Geschichtbuch*, so that the group now became leaderless. Some of them thereupon united with the Hutterites, while others remained hidden somewhere, for we know that Riedemann visited a small group of them in Moravia in the year 1537. Most of them, however, attempted to emigrate in small groups to South Germany, as Plener himself did, to reach Württemberg, an apparently more tolerant country. The way thither led upwards along the Danube by way of Passau and through Bavaria. The authorities, however, had expected such a "flight" and had issued strict orders to guard this route along the Danube. Consequently in the same year, 1535, a large

[1] Literature—The two editions of the Hutterite *Geschichtbuch* by Beck and Wolkan, further the works on the Hutterian Brethren by Loserth, Wolkan and Lydia Müller, and in particular Hege's important book on the *Täufer in der Kurpfalz*, p. 208, 60 and 74-78. W. Wiswedel plans to give a detailed biography of Plener in his third volume of *Bilder und Führergestalten Aus Dem Täuferthum*. Unfortunately the *Täufer Akten* for Württemberg contain nothing about this group.

Apparently this report is partial, since it is probable that Plener moved to Germany with a small group. Nowhere in the later court records of trials do we meet any real complaint about Plener's conduct. It is certain, however, that in any case a large group remained alone.

number of Philippite brethren were captured at Passau. A period of suffering and misery had begun. Many were not to come alive out of the dungeons of the castle of Passau. Many recanted sooner or later in order to finally have freedom, and most of them were pitifully tortured and persecuted. There are documentary reports of these severe persecutions and Wolkan (*Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer*, 1903) as well as Wiswedel (*Band II, Bilder und Führergestalten*, 1930) have given us touching examples, extracts from the archives which testify again and again to the well-known living convictions and faith which characterized all the groups of Anabaptists. In these dungeons at Passau the first form of the well-known hymnal, the *Ausbund*, was composed as Rudolph Wolkan proved for the first time. We scarcely know what happened after this to the rest of the Philippite Brethren. Most of them were no doubt scattered far and wide and were gradually absorbed in the more quiet stream of the official reformation movement, in spite of their original enthusiasm. A number of those with stronger faith united with the "Swiss Brethren" in South Germany.

Among the Philippite Brethren in prison in Passau there was a man named Hans Haffner of Riblingen, near Schwäbisch Hall (Grafschaft Hohenlohe, Württemberg). In the report of this trial we learn that he had been an Anabaptist for two years, that is since 1533, had been baptized at Auspitz, and had been driven from that place six weeks earlier by the King. Haffner was forced to testify by means of torture, and admitted that a "Bishop" (Vorsteher) by the name of Michael Schneider had fled with them.[3] In the second part of the *Ausbund*, p. 98, there is a hymn which was the joint production of fourteen prisoners. The 11th verse of this hymn is signed H. H., which Wolkan quite rightly assigns to Hans Haffner. He lay in prison in Passau until about 1540/41, yet he finally recanted, together with his wife Angella, or Agnes, whereupon both were released. According to the archives he had supposedly been married to Agnes for forty years (?) and would likely have been an elderly man.[4] We later hear very little more about him.

But now an extraordinarily interesting tract by this scarcely known brother Hans Haffner has been found in a Hutterite manuscript of the year 1570. The tract is entitled *Von Einem Wahren*

[3] On him cf. Wolkan, *l. c.*, p. 36. He is not named in the Chronicles, very likely because he was a "Vorsteher" of the Philippites.

[4] I doubt these reports. Very likely what was meant was that he had married his wife at the age of forty years.

Ritter Christi. This discovery is remarkable since the Hutterites and Philippites supposedly had no fellowship after 1533 and since the *Geschichtbuch,* as well as all the other manuscripts scarcely have a word to say about this "foreign" group. Furthermore, the tract is quite foreign to the Hutterite viewpoint and in its basic teaching frequently quite different, so that it cannot possibly be Hutterite in its thought and faith. Nevertheless it is to be found in the codex,[5] and is even written with special care (fol. 59-72), wherefore it must have been in some way handed down in the Hutterite Brotherhood from about the period 1533-1535. This is quite remarkable in view of the great differences in teaching between it and the Hutterite writings.

What makes the writing especially valuable and interesting is the fact that it is really the only dogmatic writing which we have out of the circle of the Philippite Brethren which has yet come to light.[6] It is true that the hymns of the Passau prisoners, the *Ausbund,* on the whole are likewise of dogmatic character, especially those which later became authoritative for the Swiss Brethren. The archives at Passau also contain valuable documents of a dogmatic character, but such an independent treatise as the Haffner booklet is invaluable. It is a document of the first rank all the more since it apparently goes back to the more peaceful time before the persecution. Finally it should be noted that this writing furnishes us with a testimony of great religious power and depth, a treatise which would have been worthy of any one of the better known leaders. For this reason a more thorough-going presentation and evaluation is quite in order. Our historic understanding of the age and its tendencies may thereby be advanced. At any rate dogmatic treatises of the Anabaptists do not fill our archives and up to the present those that do exist have scarcely been examined.

The title of the booklet is: *Von einem Wahrhaften Ritter Christi, und womit er gewappnet muss sein, damit er überwinden möge die Welt, das Fleisch und den Teufel.* The title refers to the metaphor in Ephesians 6:10 f.: this metaphor runs throughout the entire book. The four weapons are nothing else than faith, love,

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[5] This codex which was previously in the library of the Cathedral chapter at Pressburg as number 235 is now in private hands in Austria. Beck described it as *Codex I* in his work. In many respects it agrees with *Codex Artloff* in Gran, III, 128. It is very well preserved and beautifully written.

[6] Probably the reason why it was not noticed earlier was that the manuscripts in Pressburg were very difficult to reach and that the name Haffner appears nowhere else except in the hitherto scarcely used Passau archives. Beck possibly was aware of the connection, but Wolkan and Wiswedel were not acquainted with the Pressburg manuscript and its rare contents.

hope, and in the fourth place and in particular, resignation (*Gelassenheit*). The motive which led the author to write is stated in the preface to the reader in the following words: "Since there is so much hypocrisy in the world and each one desires to be the most pious and the most holy and since therefrom arise envy, jealousy, dispute, division (think of 1533!), therefore I desire to show how the true disciples of Christ should be. Let us therefore hear what belongs to a genuine soldier of Christ and of what character he ought to be, or wherewith he must fight."

"A genuine soldier of Christ must have true resignation, and must mortify his own life" (Luke 9:23 and 57). In this expression the basic conception of the booklet is expressed, for almost the entire content concentrates itself about this thought of true "resignation," which is a conception taken from the old German mysticism, a conception of inner clarity-and-peace (*Abgeklärtheit*) and victory over "the world, flesh, and the devil." Everything else is only further explanation and exposition of this concept of resignation, or as it is once called, this "holy, reasonable, living sacrifice." A new birth which changes the sense of the entire man is necessary (Rom. 2), but to this new humanity belong the four things already mentioned—faith, love, hope and resignation—whereby these things condition each other and no one of them can exist without the other. We observe thereby that it is the old Pauline conception which is here enlarged by means of the concept of resignation. We note also that this "resignation", which seems to have been the primary experience of the Anabaptist Brotherhoods, further explains and clarifies the three other fundamental pillars of all faith. Resignation is "the true discipline and test" (of faith), namely "that we must let ourselves be despised, persecuted and killed." Even love is viewed from this point of view as in the last analysis only a sort of resignation, and there is no question but that all the Anabaptist circles take this position which emphasizes so strongly the ascetic attitude. Truly, sufferings are unavoidable and have a deep meaning, they are the ultimate touchstone of faith, but they are nevertheless not the real and ultimate meaning of life, are not its characteristic mark or positive essence. Anabaptism also possesses the great teaching "of true love" (*Von der wahren Liebe*) as Hans Denck, for instance, expressed it and as it has remained in living form down to the present time, especially in Hutterianism.

Another very fine and thorough Anabaptist conception which is common to all Anabaptist groups is the constantly recurring

thought: "The world truly accepts Christ as a *gift*, but does not know Him as a suffering Christ." (*"Es nimmt die Welt Christum wohl (gerne) an als ein Geschenk, aber leidender Weise kennt sie ihn nicht."*) This thought expresses briefly and succinctly what Thomas Münzer had already expressed in his polemic against Luther, namely that "the bitter Christ must precede the sweet Christ," (*"der bittere Christus dem süssen Christus"*), or what Pilgram Marbeck later formulated as over against Schwenckfeld: "The crown of thorns precedes the halo of glory" (*"die Dornenkrone stahet vor dem Glorieusschein"*) (Loserth's edition of Marbeck's *Verantwortung*, p. 160, and passim). And is not the well-known hymn by Ludwig Hetzer, "Ich spricht die Welt, es ist nicht not, dass ich mit Christo leide," filled with the same thought, this rejection of a justification by faith alone which too often has made Lutheranism a very convenient escape from reality? Furthermore, this easy-going conception was to be found not only with Luther, but also with many of the most pious Christians, especially with all those for whom the mystical phase of faith, what one might call the rapturous experience, was more prominent than the will to follow Christ in what were often burdensome and difficult steps in life. Following Christ "always requires in contrast to such a rapture, the already mentioned resignation: when we truly realize the love of God we will be ready to give up for love's sake even what God has given us." (Haffner). The mystics of the middle ages, it is true, did not understand resignation exactly in this sense, but it seemed as though this very concept—that of conscious surrender and giving up what was really dear and valuable to one—formed the center of Haffner's teaching, or in other words, that of the Philippite Brethren.

And now the author proceeds to discuss the four weapons in detail. First he deals with faith. What the brother has to say to us on this point is indeed not very deep; in Hutterite writings one frequently finds much more thoroughgoing discussions. Notice here also how important the true Anabaptist's activism is in the concept of faith. According to Haffner, as little as living water remains hidden in the earth, so little will faith remain without works. Where there are no works, there is no faith, but rather a fancy (*Wahn*). Neither singing nor talking will help, but only true faith, faith which is true "only when it works through love." Here it is necessary to emphasize that the section on faith contains many

[7] This hymn, according to the Hutterite *Gesangbuch*, p. 29, and the manuscripts, is ascribed to Leonard Schiemer instead of Hetzer.

citations from the Gospel of John. "He that believes on Christ will also do the works which He did and greater (John 14:12) for Christ is the natural son of God . . . but we are only adopted and chosen children, wherefore we also will constantly have to contend with the flesh as long as we live here." (It is this therefore which in this connection means "Do greater works!")

Now such faith comes through love "for it is impossible that those who truly have faith, which is given to them through Christ, should not love God in return, yea, not only God, but also their neighbor because of the commandment of God." He who desires to have fellowship with Christ must therefore walk in light, that is, he must love his neighbor, and not with words, but in deed. But this deed—love—is however rather that of the epistle to the Ephesians than that of the epistles of John. Ephesians 4:28: "Work with your hand, that you may give to him that hath not." This characteristically anticapitalistic, craftsman, common man conception is emphasized very strongly. The author attacks "deception, profiteering and finance" (*Trug, Wucher, und Finanz*), fine living and luxury. "Yea, before the rich man will help his brother and his children he will spend his wealth in luxurious living which would be sufficient to support three or four households, and ye say the love of God is in you? Christ says, invite the poor (Luke 6), lend to the poor, and give to those who cannot give it back again." Love is therefore chiefly the giving of alms, not the ultimate sharing with the brother of everything material as well as spiritual. Love is primarily a "command" of God, of course a command which is based upon freedom and not compulsion, "for perfect love casts out all fear" (I Cor. 13). In spite of everything, the impression one receives from this section still is: love is not the basic primary conception in this booklet, but it also is only a phase of "resignation" or the true following of a command, in short, an ascetic attitude.

In the third section, "hope" is interpreted as follows: hope means much the same as patience and long-suffering in the bearing of the cross. When we suffer the cross and persecution and can take up the cross by patience, then first may we glory in the Lord. "So true resignation consists of these three things, faith, hope, and love."

"Here follows the fourth section, namely resignation, by which the Christian is first recognized, as the tree is recognized by its fruit. Therefore the blind world will here look up and come to know itself and learn and recognize the true disciples of Christ,

for the hypocrite cannot long stand. . . . Peter says (I Peter 4) 'When we suffer we cease to sin.' Therefore the cross alone is the true touchstone of the Christian. But he dare not carry the cross because of his own guilt, but for the sake of mercy toward others, just like Christ bore it, and we do not want to be hypocrites like the world, but do away with the world's works. As the Lord says: 'The world hates me because I show them that their works are evil.' . . ." It should be noticed in this passage that there is a hidden theodicy, namely one which is designed to free the concept of cross-bearing (quite otherwise than with Paul) of all sense of inherited sin and guilt. "Now let us hear what resignation is. . . ." Unfortunately the manuscript is damaged just at this point and the meaning is difficult to decipher. It is something as follows. Resignation is nothing else than to forsake for God's name's sake everything which is of the creature, and to let oneself be led by the hand of God. "Such resignation is called by Christ in Luke a hate, where he says: 'He who does not hate his father and mother and renounce everything which he has is not worthy of me.' "— "But resignation is nothing else than a true mortification of our flesh and a true new birth. But since the whole world wants to have Christ but misses in its desire the true goal, in this that it only wants to have Christ as a gift, that is it wants to have Him as its gracious and only mediator, which is of course right, . . . but errs nevertheless in this, that it accepts Him only as a gift and not also as a suffering Christ (*nicht auch in leidender Weis*) for a Christian must not accept Christ in one thing and reject Him in another, for the very one who says: 'All those who are heavy laden come to me and I will refresh you;' the same one says also: 'Whoever will not forsake father and mother the same cannot be my disciple.' Therefore whoever loves truth must have Christ as sincerely in one way as in the other. For whoever wishes to follow Christ must follow Him 'in the suffering manner.' For this reason it is only a fancy and a matter of delusion when one says (supply—like Luther or Schwenckfeld): 'We believe that Christ has redeemed us, but do not wish to live like He lived.'

"Therefore, we now wish to let this be enough of the first part, in which we have pictured Christ as a gift, and now want to present the other part, namely resignation, which consists of two sections, the first the overcoming of ourselves, and the second of the enduring of persecution by others." Now the author presents a more detailed description of this sort of resignation. For instance, right at the beginning he refers to the saying of Christ

about the right and the left cheek, but states that this does not mean, "that we should admit that the godless tyrants are right in their wickedness," but it only means, "that we should not strive with them in pride and accuse them, but that we should come to them in the most simple and humble manner, as becomes a Christian." Therefore a new birth must first be experienced, and the Christian "must be weaned from his mother's breast (Isaiah 28), that is from the characteristic of human nature. In the second place we must be able to forsake wife and children, father and mother, lands and property, yea, our own life and everything which God has given us, as has been stated above."

"Here observe, thou blind world, thou who desirest to serve God *and* the world, that thou canst not serve two masters, yea, so great a blindness does God permit to fall upon this godless world that all those who kill the devout, will think that they do God a service thereby. Oh, woe, for such a great blindness which God sends upon the world."

"Therefore, dear Christian, do not be disappointed that the world hates you, but only continue, be patient, wait on the great God with joy, for blessed are those who weep here, for it is only for a short time. When He comes who will not excuse, the time will be full of joy which will be nevermore taken from you. The Lord grant us His spirit to fight unto the end. Amen."

It is an unusually strong appeal to suffering which we meet here in this booklet, at the same time a remarkable and not usual change in concept: love, resignation, but resignation is mortification of the flesh, that is, the surrender of everything that is dear to one. These are thoughts which I have never met in any dogmatic writing of the Anabaptists and which without doubt represent the individuality, the difference, and at the same time also no doubt the shortcomings of this tract, for there is apparently lacking in it an ultimate meaning to be put into such a way of life, at least in so far as suffering is viewed only as the negative, the inevitable phase of following Christ, but not as the positive, the power which transforms. Concerning this power really very little is said, although it is just such power which the "four weapons of the soldier of Christ" should of necessity furnish. This becomes particularly clear when one attempts a comparison with similar passages in the writings of the Hutterian Brethren, especially with what they say about love and resignation. It is true that in the Hutterian writings these two conceptions are frequently brought together in very close connection, but they lead consequentially to altogether

different demands and admonitions. Ulrich Stadler (ca. 1537-1540) for example, discusses this point in detail in his excellent writing, *Concerning fellowship between the saints here and yonder*.[8] "All gifts and goods which God gives to His own are to be had in common with all the children of God, and for this too, sincere, resigned, willing hearts in Christ are necessary who truly believe and trust God and are completely surrendered in Christ. . . . Also, we are criticized and told that nowhere can one read that it is a command of the Lord to have goods in common and to appoint ministers and stewards over everything. The answer is 'It is true resignation to consecrate oneself with his lands and goods to the service of the saints, and it is the manifestation of love; yea, we learn in Christ to lose ourselves in the service of the saints, to be and become poor if only others may be served.' Further, 'to hand over all lands and goods and cast them away from oneself, that is a high degree of resignation and voluntary consecration to the Lord and His people through the Lord.' In conclusion, 'each brother shall serve another, shall live and work, but not to himself. . . .'" Riedemann already sings in his first and little-known *Gmunden Rechenschaft* (1592-32) the praise of the love (*Das Hohe Lied der Liebe*) which leads to this fellowship (*Gemeinschaft*). "The love of Christ and our love are manifested in bread and wine. For like as many kernels are ground together by the mill stone and formed into a meal and finally made into bread, so that no one recognizes in the bread which part of the meal composes this or that kernel, so also we many men, if we are truly ground together by the noble millstone of Divine power, believe His word and yield ourselves to the cross of Christ, we also shall be formed together through the bond of love to one body of which Christ is the head . . . . Those, therefore, who have truly surrendered themselves to the Lord shall become one in heart and spirit, just as the kernels are made one in the bread," etc. That not only Riedemann but also Walpot[9] and all other brethren who composed dogmatic writings, viewed love in the manner of I Cor. 13 and not

[8] *Von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen Hier und Dort*, reprinted by Wolkan in his book, *Die Hutterer*, 1918, pp. 153-161, who takes it from a manuscript in Vienna. In Stadler's writing, which was much read, both resignation and love find their fruition not in asceticism but in true fellowship (*Gemeinschaft*), which as is well known was a communism of goods (*Gütergemeinschaft*), that is, it was more than a simple communism of love (*Liebeskommunismus*).

[9] Peter Walpot writes in 1547 (*Geschichtbuch*, p. 225): "Love does not seek her own—therefore, she seeks indeed only to have fellowship. For love is a bond of perfection where she dwells; she does not work a partial but a complete and entire fellowship (*Gemeinschaft*).

in that of Eph. 4:28, need only be mentioned here in passing. Finally, Andreas Ehrenpreis in 1562 repeats once more all the arguments of Hutterianism for the union of resignation, love and fellowship (Gelassenheit, Liebe, Gemeinschaft) in his famous printed *Epistle* (*"Sendbrief . . . brüderliche Gemeinschaft, das höchste Gebot der Liebe betreffend."*). "Where the love of Christ is not able to accomplish as much toward one's neighbor as to have fellowship in temporal needs, there the blood of Christ cannot cleanse from sin . . . . Whoever does not have this service-love, and loves temporal goods more than his comrade in faith, how can anyone be willing to say that in such a one even a speck or drop of Divine love is present?"

It is only after one makes such a comparison that one is able to properly locate the Haffner tract in the spiritual history of Anabaptism. For it is certain without a doubt that the Anabaptist movement as a whole lived from its great proclamation of the great love. Rudolf Wolkan has demonstrated this so masterfully from their hymns in his two books, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* 1903, and *Die Hutterer,* 1918, and has illustrated it with so many splendid characteristics out of his examples that it will no doubt suffice merely to refer to his work here. But how manifold nevertheless this conception of love has been understood. The love which Hans Haffner understood (and with him possibly the other Philippite Brethren?) is thoroughly different from the love, which for example the well-known Hänsel Schmidt, or Raiffer (executed at Aachen, 1558) hymns:

Die Liebe wird auch erkennet, bei Wort, Leben und Tat,
Der sich Gott ganz ergibet, Christi Geist in ihm hat,
Der hat die Gemeinschaft allezeit, wie Christus hat bewiesen,
Er als ein Glied am Leib.

Liebe Brüder und Schwestern, ihr Kinder Gottes rein,
Lasst uns nach der Liebe allzeit streben fein,
Dass wir in ihr, und sie in uns allzeit erfunden werde,
Sonst ist alles umsonst.[10]

Die wahre Gottesliebe, die da Gott selber ist,
Tut das Werk in ihm üben, jetzt und zu aller Frist.
Dass er mit allen Frommen schon das Zeitliche mag verlassen,
Und in Gemeinschaft stehen.[11]

The love which is meant here does not soon exhaust itself

10 *Gesangbuch der Hutterer,* 1914, pp. 564-67. The entire fourth hymn has love as its theme.

11 *Gesangbuch,* p. 577.

with the giving of alms and it is not fulfilled only because God "commanded" it. The love which is here sung is much more the constructive principle of the entire life, which drives and compels the lover to fellowship (Gemeinschaft). It is much more than a single deed, since it is really the basic principle and foundation of all life and work. In a certain sense "resignation" takes the place of this "love" in our tract, but even here one can see the characteristic differences of teaching (and therefore also of life) of the two groups. With Haffner resignation means primarily only to assume something unpleasant and difficult, the mortification of the flesh, as for example to forsake father and mother, while according to the Hutterite conception this is indeed a part of resignation, but naturally does not exhaust the concept. For this is (for example with Ulrich Stadler) the "free and willing heart" which has renounced the world, sin, and the devil, and therefore strives and struggles to attain perfection through service, that is the fellowship of the saints.

We may perhaps summarize as follows. With Haffner (whether this is true of all the Philippite Brethren cannot be asserted) the merely negative ascetic element in love and resignation is dominant in that the redemptive value of the mortification of the flesh is emphasized. With the Hutterian Brethren on the contrary, who quite generally have experienced the life-magnifying power of communism of goods, the more positive content of this basic concept comes to the foreground in all their confessions. The meaning of these basic conceptions is positive, while the renunciation phase is only the unavoidable obverse of fellowship. The inner life of the Hutterian Brethren was no doubt able to last so long primarily because of this, and it is not impossible that on the other hand the essential weakness of the Philippite Brethren lay in the dominance of the ascetic teaching. For even if during certain brief and difficult periods in history suffering overshadows all the constructive life, the suffering attitude is nevertheless ultimately overcome and outshone by the love and fellowship which is liberative and which alone produces life. This fact is of course not contraried by the deep formulation which our tract presents of the two types of conception of God, namely that it is not sufficient to accept God, only as a gift in His grace, but that one should much more, yea, above everything approach Him "in the way of suffering" (*leidenderweis*). The Hutterites as well as all other Anabaptists held similar views on this point.

It is therefore clear according to our analysis, and will no

longer seem remarkable, that the Hutterites could not understand this rather classic writing by Haffner. This is probably also the reason that it has been handed down in only one manuscript. Nevertheless the little booklet on the whole presents us with an excellent picture of Anabaptist thinking and living, especially out of the earlier period of the movement which has not yet been clearly understood. For this reason it is a considerable enrichment of our knowledge of the dogmatic literature of the Philippite group.

EARLY MENNONITE SUNDAY SCHOOLS OF NORTHWESTERN OHIO

I

John Umble

Following the organization of the Logan and Champaign county Amish Sunday schools in 1864 and 1865 respectively, Ohio Mennonites and Amish organized no new schools until 1868, although the Ohio Mennonite conference in 1866 had decided that, under certain conditions, the Sunday school was beneficial. In 1868 and 1869, however, Allen County Mennonites in Sugar Creek and Richland townships organized two Sunday schools, one at Salem, the other at Zion. Before proceeding with a history of the Sunday schools, it seems logical to present a brief survey of the origin and development of these two congregations and also of Blanchard in Putnam, and Chapel or New Stark in Hancock, which were both closely associated with Salem and Zion in later years.

Since the Indians clung so tenaciously to their homes and the burial grounds of their ancestors in northwestern Ohio, congregations in that section were organized much later than those in the eastern and central counties of the state or than some of the earlier churches farther west in the states of Illinois and Iowa. It is true the larger tribes had sold their reservation rights in 1817, but not until many years later did they finally tear themselves away from the ancestral domain and reluctantly turn their faces toward the new reservations in Missouri. Finally in 1829 government agents persuaded the Delawares and Chippewas to leave; the treacherous, immoral Senecas marched out in a body in 1831; in the next year seven hundred Shawnees leveled the graves of their sires to prevent their discovery and desecration by the white man and departed for the land of the buffalo. But still the Ottawas could not be persuaded to move. At last, in 1837, the U. S. government loaded one hundred and fifty of the tribe on the steamboat, Commodore Perry, at Toledo, shipped them to Cleveland, thence by canal south across the state to Portsmouth and thence on river boats down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. Last of all to leave were the Wyandots, six hundred sixty-four of them going by wagon, horse, and foot to Cincinnati, thence by river to their 20,000 acre purchase near Kansas City.

Even before the Indians left, a few of the more venturesome white men, defying the red man's potential, and often actual, menace to life and property, filtered into the country. But there was little to attract the home-maker. The land, a vast level heavily-wooded plain stretching away for miles, was generally wet and poorly drained, intersected here and there by little streams whose deep, ravinelike beds show how greatly their capacity was taxed during the flood season of the late winter and early spring months. Fallen timbers and beaver dams obstructed the natural drainage and converted vast areas into swamps that were practically impassable. All northwestern Ohio was known as the "Black Swamp."

Added to these discouraging conditions was the economic backwardness of this Ohio frontier. Although the census of 1820 showed Ohio fifth among the states in population, northwestern Ohio lagged far behind the eastern and southern counties. The settlements languished because of sickness, pulmonary ailments in winter and typhoid or malaria in summer. There was scarcely any money. Even the deflated currency of the period was not to be had here. Transportation facilities were almost wholly lacking except for a few plank roads. Butter was worth six cents per pound, eggs four cents a dozen, pork two cents a pound, and beef three.

Then, bringing new life and progress to these outposts of civilization, came the act of February, 1825, providing for building two canals from the Ohio River to Lake Erie. Construction itself brought cash to the settlers; but this advantage was, after all, a minor and incidental benefit not to be compared with the prosperity resulting from the sale of agricultural products which had previously had little or no cash value. Several decades later, when the railroads came, the canals had already invited thousands of hardy immigrants into the country. The census of 1830 gave Putnam county 230 white settlers and the census of 1840, 5132.

The first Mennonite settlers in northwestern Ohio may be said literally to have ridden into the section on the rising tide of the new prosperity. They left their homes in the rapidly congesting settlements in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Canada, and eastern Ohio to purchase cheaper land in the west. Very few came before 1830, but the Mennonite settlements in Allen, Putnam, and Hancock counties were established before 1845. The Blanchard River congregation in Putnam county was composed largely of immigrants from Washington county, Maryland, and from Markham township, York county, Canada; the Elida congregation in

Allen county, of settlers from Fairfield, Perry, and Franklin counties in Ohio; Zion, of Swiss Mennonite families from Wayne and Holmes counties, in Ohio, and of the family of Bishop John Thut; and Chapel congregation near New Stark, Hancock county, of two families from Stark county, Ohio, reinforced later by some of the members of the Zion congregation.

The present Blanchard River meetinghouse is situated in Perry township, Putnam county, on the south bank of the Blanchard and just west of the road that marks the Greensburg-Perry township line. Salem (formerly Sherrick's) meetinghouse stands in Sugar Creek township, Allen county, fifteen miles south and two miles east of Blanchard. Pike meetinghouse (at first known as Good's and later as Shenk's) stood two miles south and three and one-half miles west of Salem. Zion (or, earlier, Riley Creek) was ten miles south and thirteen and one-half miles east of Blanchard or about three and one-half west of Bluffton. Chapel at New Stark is fourteen miles south and nearly twenty-five miles east of Blanchard. These distances are measured along the section lines. Various angling highways reduce considerably the mileage between some of the churches. The little settlement in Paulding county was four miles north and twelve miles west of Blanchard, near the junction of the Auglaize River, the Miami Extension Canal, and Flat Rock Creek.

The Blanchard River Congregation in Putnam County

The first Mennonite settlers in the Blanchard River region in Putnam county were two Maryland families: Myers (also spelled Meyer or Meyers or Myres, but always pronounced Moyer in the early days) and Shank. John Myers, Sr., (born April 13, 1760, died, December 25, 1839) a wealthy miller and distiller living near Leitersburg, Washington county, Maryland, had lost all of his property. His sons were obliged to leave home to learn a trade and the father himself began life anew as a shoe-maker's apprentice. Two of his sons, Abraham and Christian, married and set up for themselves. Samuel, Jacob, Peter, and Henry N. learned a trade. His other sons, John Jr., and Joseph D., remained single, saved their money, and in course of time helped their father begin farming on a large scale on a rented farm. In a few years the aged parents and the sons, by the help of the sisters, Elizabeth, Maria, Barbara, and Veronica (Fanny), who also remained single, accumulated sufficient capital to undertake a conquest of some portion of the great western wilderness. Samuel was chosen to precede

the family and purchase land from the government. He was then to send back word and await their arrival. He set out in the spring of 1832 and finally on October 20, 1832, purchased in his own name two tracts totalling two hundred acres on the south bank of the Blanchard River about five miles east of the present Blanchard meetinghouse. After selecting this claim for his parents and brothers he wandered down the river about ten miles and on November 1, 1832, selected and purchased a mill site where Cascade now stands.

The following spring two of his brothers, Joseph D., and Henry N., accompanied by a sister, Maria, made the long journey to prepare a home in the wilderness for the reception of their aged parents. When they reached Ottawa six hundred Indians were encamped along the river. That night they slept in their wagon surrounded with Indians, and the next day they set out to locate Samuel. After spending some time looking for him they came upon him six miles west of Ottawa. With drooping shoulders and forlorn look he sat on a log watching the Indians. Their father being a bankrupt, Joseph D. purchased from Samuel, for his father, the two hundred acres he had entered the previous year, but kept the title jointly in his own and his brother John's name. He purchased the two tracts from Samuel for five hundred dollars, Dec. 24, 1833. Accompanying these three members of the Myers family to Putnam county were the orphaned Spitznaugel (later Spitsnoggle, now Spitnale) children, David, Susan, and Joseph. When their mother, a sister of John Myers, Sr., and the wife of Jacob Spitznaugel had died of consumption, as it was then called, their uncle took them into his family and provided for them. By the next spring the new settlers had built a neatly constructed tight-walled cabin of carefully-hewn, matched logs for the reception of John Myers Sr., and his wife Mary Dillon, a woman of English birth. The aged couple arrived late the next spring accompanied by their sons, John Jr., Jacob, and possibly also by Christian. At all events both Jacob and Christian took up claims during 1834 on the south bank of the Blanchard River.

Two years later the Shank brothers began to arrive. Their father had married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of John Myers, Sr., and Shank's three sons, Jonas, Henry, and Christian, married the remaining three Myers sisters, Fanny, Barbara, and Maria, respectively, while the Shank sister, Sophia, married the youngest of the Myers brothers, Henry N., December 29, 1842. As the

custom then was, Henry N. and Sophia Shank Myers united with the church soon after marriage.

In 1836 Michael Shank of Markham township, York county, Ontario, Canada, father of twelve daughters and one son moved to Perry township, Putnam county, just north of Cascade and purchased four hundred forty acres of excellent land for five hundred fifty dollars. His wife Barbara Wideman died in the same year. Joseph D. Myers, mentioned above, one of the most active and prominent young men of the new colony married Elizabeth, daughter of this Michael Shank. Their daughters are still members of the Blanchard church. The Maryland Shanks and the Canadian Shanks are said not to have been related, but both branches of the family probably came from a common origin in eastern Pennsylvania. Another daughter of Michael Shank married David Spitznaugel. In 1837 and in 1840 respectively, Michael Shank's two sons-in-law, John Eyer (pronounced Oyer) married to Barbara, and Moses Glimanhaga, married to Catherine, purchased land north of the river from the present Blanchard church. In 1837 another daughter, Mary, married a nephew of John Myers, Sr., Solomon Myers, who later acquired large holdings along the north bank of the Blanchard. Susan Spitnale married a member of the Lehman family that also immigrated from Markham. She and her husband Benjamin moved to Williams County Ohio, in 1842 soon after their marriage, and in 1853 they removed to Elkhart County, Indiana, where she died June 22, 1887. In 1836 Christian Prowant moved from Wooster, Ohio, where he had settled eighteen years before after leaving Cumberland county, Pennsylvania. Four sons of this Prowant, John, William, Daniel and Henry, became ministers in the Brethren church and frequently assisted in Mennonite funerals because they were able to preach English. One son, Ephraim, now nearly ninety years old, is still a faithful member of the Blanchard church. He married a daughter of Joseph D. Myers. In 1837 John Fretz and his wife moved into the colony. He became the first deacon when the congregation was organized.

For some reason the congregation has never prospered. Of the children of the first bishop, Jonas Shank, none retained their membership in the Mennonite church, and some of the Myers never united with the church. Since the death of the first bishop of "consumption" (tuberculosis) in February, 1866, at the age of sixty-six, the congregation has had no resident bishop, but has been obliged to depend on the services of the Allen or Hancock county

bishops living from ten to thirty-five miles away. About 1845, either Bishop Jonas Shank or Bishop Henry Stemen of Allen county, ordained the former's brother, Henry, minister. Timid and bashful in manner and unable to preach in English he had even less success than his brother in holding the interest of the young people. He outlived his brother nearly twenty years. He died very suddenly. One evening he walked out into the yard, apparently in good health, and was found dead there a few minutes later. Lack of English preaching, failure to organize Sunday school during the critical seventies and eighties, and the poor condition of the roads that caused abandonment of church services entirely for weeks at a time during the flood season, seem to have been outstanding causes for the dwindling of interest. The climate, too, was a factor. Sudden and unexpected floods, at untimely seasons, sometimes swept an entire crop, the product of a whole season's faithful industry, down the swollen streams toward Lake Erie. In spring, floods and lack of drainage delayed the spring crops and lowered the vitality of the people, while summer claimed its toll with typhoid and malaria. One row of little markers in the beautifully situated cemetery at Cascade on the Auglaize river marks the graves of seven children and their father and mother, all swept away by "consumption." In this cemetery, also, is the grave of Bishop Jonas Shank. As stated above, he died February 25, 1866, and was buried February 28. The floodwaters were so high that it was found necessary to postpone the funeral services. On account of the unusually late wet spring these services were not held until May when the congregation met at the church building to hold a memorial service and to mourn the passing of the first and last bishop of the Blanchard River Mennonite congregation. The service was held on the banks of the Blanchard River in the forenoon of May 20, by Bishop George Brenneman and Preacher Christian Culp from Allen, and Henry Shank of the local congregation. Communion services were held at the church in the afternoon of the same day.

The colony could ill afford to lose some of the earlier settlers who moved farther west. Before Bishop Jonas Shank's death, the Canadian Michael Shank, now a widower, had moved to Elkhart county, Indiana (1849), and thence, in 1865, his son Michael W. had removed to St. Joseph county, Indiana, where after first being ordained deacon he became one of the active ministers in the congregation near Lakeville. He was ordained to the ministry by Bishop Tilman Moyer. In the autumn of 1868 he visited his form-

er home in Putnam county. He was met at Delphos by David Spitznoggle to whom in 1845 Shank's father had sold part of the Shank homestead sixteen miles from Delphos—one hundred-twenty acres for three hundred and eight dollars. Shank preached at the Blanchard meetinghouse on November 8, and on the following Sunday at Riley Creek (Zion) in Richland township, Allen county, the former home of Bishop John Thut, who had died the year before; but he does not seem to have stopped with the more progressive Allen county ministers at Salem in Sugar Creek township where a Sunday school had been organized three months earlier. In 1886 he moved to Finney county, Kansas, and died at La Junta, Colorado, February 13, 1905. A grandson, Clarence Shank, is a minister at the Olive church, Elkhart county, Indiana. When the Canadian Shanks moved to Elkhart county, some of Michael Shank's sons-in-law also left Blanchard for that more prosperous Indiana settlement. Foremost among these were Preacher John Oyer and Moses Glimanhaga. The latter was so eager to go that he sold his farm for one hundred dollars less than he paid and accepted a mortgage for the entire sale price, one thousand dollars. Throughout the years the colony has been losing some of its best young people through intermarriage with the Salem congregation near Elida in Allen county.

One of the brighter spots in the early history of the settlement is the story of the hospitality and religious piety of some of the Myers families. The historian is led to wonder why none of this active, large-framed, virile family were appointed to positions of religious leadership in the colony. The Myers family cemetery up the Blanchard River five miles east of the present Blanchard church reveals a striking record of long life and long periods of undisturbed marital happiness. Nearly all of the earlier Myers reached the age of seventy or eighty, while Grandmother Mary Myers passed ninety and her son, John, died in his ninety-fourth year. In his ninetieth year he had reaped six shocks of wheat without resting. In the early days when the nearest stores and supply depots were at Fort Defiance about fifty miles up the river, Joseph D. Myers frequently made the trip alone in an open boat to bring provisions for his own and other families in the colony. This voyage was never without its perils. The river channel was frequently blocked with fallen timber or driftwood. If he could not dislodge the obstruction with pole or ax, he made a portage, unloading his supplies, carrying or dragging his boat to clear water, and then reloading, singing all the while. On one occasion when

he had been gone to Defiance for an unusually long period, his little girls and his wife Elizabeth, a daughter of the Canadian Michael Shank, and sister of the Indiana minister, Michael W. Shank, often went down to the riverside waiting, hoping, praying for his return. One evening, as they sat there, they heard faintly but clearly his rich mellow voice singing one of his favorite church hymns. The current was swift, and it was many hours later when he arrived, his boat with its precious freight riding low in the water. He sprang from the boat with no signs of fatigue. They learned that, when they had heard him singing, he had been over three miles from home. He had been singing the stirring hymns of the *Unparteiisches Gesangbuch* which the settlers had brought with them from their Maryland home for use in their religious services. He died October 6, 1885, in his eighty-fourth year. He was an excellent singer and very fond of reading. His favorite books were the German Hymn Book and the Testament. He had read the latter through fifty-one times. In bad weather he and his wife walked five or six miles to church carrying their children. His wife died April 19, 1889.

Once the season was too busy for the usual trip to Defiance. The colony had been out of flour for a long time. Elizabeth Shank Myers, fond mother and wife that she was, pitying her little ones, ground some wheat on the coffee mill and baked a cake. Somewhat later, Joseph D. Myers set up a hand mill in his kitchen for his own and his neighbor's use. The lower stone was stationary and in order to make the meal coarser or finer could be raised or lowered by wedges. The upper stone ground the meal by rubbing upon the lower. Hand power was applied by means of a long stick fastened, at its lower end, in the upper stone near its circumference and, at its upper end, to a mortise in one of the beams in the ceiling. All the neighbors did their grinding here in the early days. While the old folks took turns grinding for hours at a time, the youngsters enjoyed a fine social time. In 1840 Samuel Myers, a miller by trade, built the old historic mill just across the river from the Cascade church on the land he had purchased from the United States government, November 1, 1832.

The Blanchard congregation has had three meetinghouses. The first building, of hewn logs, was erected one-fourth mile east of the Perry township line in Greensburg township on an elevated, well-drained plot on the north side of the state road that winds along the north bank of the Blanchard River. This road, at that time, was called the Ottawa-Franconia state road because it was

the best highway between these two points. Franconia, situated on the west bank of the Auglaize river at the point where the Blanchard flows into the Auglaize from the east, was the oldest town in the county. The church plot, four rods wide and extending back from the road ten rods, was deeded by Moses and Catherine Glimanhaga to "Jonas Shank, Henry Shank, and John Eyer preachers and elders of the Mennonist Church of Greensburg township, Putnam county, Ohio" for three dollars on November 6, 1848. After Moses Glimanhaga sold his land to Solomon Myers on June 16, 1851, the church came to be called Moyer's (Myers) church. When the church was abandoned some years later, Solomon Myers wrecked the building and cleared the site.

The second Blanchard meetinghouse, a frame structure known as Bethel church, was located about four miles east of the first. The deed for the land was never recorded. No one seems to remember who donated the site or when the building was erected, but it was probably between 1865 and 1870. Within recent years it was moved south across the road where it is now used as a toolhouse and implement shed. For many years meeting was held in the home of Joseph D. Myers on every tenth Sunday or oftener so that his mother might have the privilege of attending church services without crossing the Blanchard in the small open boat. Since no bridges spanned either the Blanchard or the Auglaize during the early period, the members on the south side of the river went to church in row boats. This included most of the Myers and Shank families. On Easter Sunday April 1, 1866, soon after the death of Bishop Jonas Shank, twenty-eight persons were present at Joseph D. Myers home for services. On June 10, however, when Bishop John Thut from the Riley Creek church at Bluffton conducted services at the Myers home, sixty-three were present. Of these sixty-three, only thirteen were members of the Mennonite church.

The present attractive, well-built meetinghouse stands on an acre plot in Perry county on the south bank of the Blanchard River and just west of the stone road that marks the boundary between Perry and Greensburg townships. It is less than one-half mile southwest of the first Blanchard meetinghouse. The site and an additional fifty dollars in money was donated to the "Board of Trustees of Mt. Pleasant Mennonite Church" by Elizabeth E. Prowant, a great-granddaughter of John Myers, Sr., oldest of the founders of the Blanchard congregation. Her father, Ephraim Prowant, donated all the frame lumber, a great deal of time and

hard labor, and also about two hundred and fifty dollars in money toward the erection of the building.

Following the custom of many of the older Mennonite communities, the settlement at first had no general burying ground. Many of the earlier Myers settlers repose in the Myers family cemetery, a one and one-fourth acre plot on the south bank of the Blanchard River, a part of the original Myers claim derived from the government in 1832. On January 13, 1896, the remaining Joseph D. Myers heirs, Mary, Ephraim and Joseph C. Prowant, and Fanny and Barbara Myers, transferred this cemetery to the trustees of the Mennonite church. About ten miles southeast at Cascade on the Auglaize River is another Myers cemetery on another original Samuel Myers entry. Here Samuel Myers and Henry N. Myers lie buried with many of the Shanks and Spitnales. Other cemeteries, originally family burial plots along the banks of the Blanchard, contain the remains of prominent members of the colony. Across the road from the Myers cemetery at Cascade stands the Cascade Union meetinghouse where Mennonite burial services and revival meetings are often held.

In the early days the congregation was not particularly fortunate in its ministers. The death of Bishop Jonas Shank left the entire care of the little flock to his brother Henry, who was fitted neither by temperament, training, nor inclination for this important work. Because he always looked down and did not look at his audience, he was a very uninteresting speaker. Bishop George Brenneman whose residence was in Putnam county ten miles south of the Blanchard river, but who was one of the Allen county bishops, ordained young Henry Shank, Jr., to assist his father in the work of the ministry. Tradition reports, however, that the young minister was "more concerned about the almighty dollar than he was about the work of the church." Bishop Brenneman promptly silenced him on the grounds that he was too worldly. A distant relative and former neighbor of the young minister insists that the immediate cause of Shank's dismissal was that he "called a veterinarian to doctor a sick horse on Sunday." Henry Shank, Jr., remained a member of the church, but never was restored to his ministerial office. During the sixties and seventies John M. and George Brenneman alternated in serving the congregation. Many times on account of the condition of the roads they were obliged to walk the eighteen and ten miles, respectively, to Blanchard. C. D. Beery sometimes accompanied John M. Brenneman on the lonely, perilous trip. For a number of years after the death of

Henry Shank, Sr., in 1885, the congregation was without the services of a resident minister, but early in the nineties, through the interest of M. S. Steiner of the Zion church some twenty miles to the southeast, the Mennonite Evangelizing and Benevolent Board provided Blanchard and a number of other struggling Ohio Mennonite churches with regular ministerial help. The membership of Blanchard had dwindled to twenty-five or thirty discouraged members in 1892. A little later M. S. Steiner helped the congregation to organize its first Sunday school. Christian Culp, Jr., son of Preacher Christian Culp of the Allen county congregation, and Simon Good, brother of the wife of Christian Culp, Jr., were the first superintendents.

The congregation continued under the general oversight of M. S. Steiner through the years after 1900. The work built up very slowly. Revival meetings were held by Andrew Shenk, I. J. Buchwalter, Noah Blosser, E. J. Berkey, and J. E. Hartzler. Bishop John M. Shenk of Elida had bishop oversight of the congregation, but the church lacked a resident minister. Finally M. S. Steiner arranged with the congregation to have his brother, Albert, J., assume charge and move into the neighborhood with his wife, Lydia Whitmer, a talented young woman from Mahoning county. Accordingly on March 19, 1906, Bishop John M. Shenk ordained Albert J. Steiner to the ministry to serve the Blanchard congregation. The young minister and his wife at once filled a large place in the social and religious life of the community and the work prospered. After a few years it became necessary for Steiner and his wife to move to Mahoning county to assist his wife's aged parents in operating their farm. Accordingly, he moved to Mahoning intending to work there as a lay member. The ministers at once received him as one of their number, however, and about a year later, when a bishop was ordained in that district and they insisted on his entering the lot with all the other ministers, the lot fell on him and he was ordained bishop. Before Albert Steiner had left for Mahoning county, however, he had arranged with Bishop John Blosser, who had meanwhile been given oversight of the congregation, to ordain his successor at Blanchard. Bishop Blosser ordained Henry Smith, son of Amos Schmidt and his wife, Lydia, a daughter of the deceased bishop, George Brenneman. The new minister and A. J. Steiner conducted an excellent series of revival meetings together at Blanchard before Steiner's departure for Mahoning. For some reason Henry Smith became discouraged, and when he appealed to Bishop John M. Shenk to be relieved from

his charge, Shenk gave him permission to quit preaching. After traveling in the west for some time, Smith returned and moved to Mahoning county where he is now a lay-member in Bishop Steiner's congregation. At present, Simon G. Shenk, son of Bishop John M. Shenk has charge of the congregation. The first deacon of this congregation was John Fretz. The last was Lewis Strite who became dissatisfied four or five years ago, moved near Bluffton, and united with the New Stark congregation where he still holds his membership.

Prospects for Blanchard look more promising now than in the past. To improve transportation facilities the first hard road was laid two years ago running the length of the settlement east and west past the present church building and along the south bank of the Blanchard River. Other roads have been improved since. Extensive dredging and drainage projects, now in progress in Greensburg township, will greatly improve agricultural and sanitary conditions. The church membership is growing. If the spiritual needs of the young people are met in a way to enlist their sympathetic cooperation and interest in the work of the church, Blanchard will yet revive. Otherwise, the time will come when Blanchard, like the extinct Mennonite congregations in Williams, Seneca, Wood, Ashland, Knox, Franklin, Fairfield and other Ohio counties, will be nothing but a memory, leaving only her cemeteries and the stone foundation of her church building to mark one more spot where the New World descendants of the Old World martyrs poured out their lives in a fervent, but ineffectual effort to give the Light to the world.

THE DIARY OF PAUL TSCHETTER, 1873
I

Translated and Edited by J. M. Hofer

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF PAUL TSCHETTER, 1842-1919

By his son, Joseph W. Tschetter

My dear father was born October 6, 1842, in the village of Blumenort, Molotschna, South Russia. His parents were Jacob and Barbara Tschetter, members of the Hutterite Church. The old church book shows that the name "Tschetter" was formerly written "Zetterle." Soon after he was born, his parents moved to the village of Hutterthal, where he was reared and attended the village school. In the spring of 1860 he was baptized and received into the Hutterite church at that place. In the same year, 1860, November 27, he was married to Maria Walter. In the year 1866 he was ordained to the ministry by Rev. Peter Wedel. In the year 1868, together with several families, he founded the village of Neu Hutterthal.

In the year 1874, he and his family, with four more families, left Russia for America and settled forty-five miles northwest of Yankton, South Dakota. About five years later the whole church came across and settled in the same neighborhood.

On January 28, 1883, he was ordained as an Elder of the church by Rev. Friedrich Schartner. On December 21, 1915, the Lord took our dear mother from his side. On November 17, 1919, our dear father died of a stroke of paralysis. His age was 77 years, 1 month, and 10 days. Father and mother lived in holy matrimony for 55 years and 10 days. Their union was blessed by the Lord with five sons and five daughters. One son six years old died in Russia while father was on the trip to America, and one daughter aged eight years was killed by a threshing machine in the next year, when they came to America. The other sons, Paul, Jacob, Joseph, and David, and daughters, Mrs. Susanna Decker, Mrs. Maria Hofer, Mrs. Barbara Stahl, and Mrs. Justina Hofman are still living. He had served his church for 53 years as a minister. He was buried November 19, 1919, in the Neu Hutterthal cemetery that is located on the old homestead that he took when he came to America.

As a minister of the Gospel he was very simple and calm. In his sermons he laid much emphasis on being honest and upright and walking the narrow way that Jesus taught and walked while on earth. He lived out his convictions. He was firm in his belief and creed. He was very slow to accept some new teaching even though the Bible did not oppose it. He advocated farm life, for he thought it was the most honest occupation for a child of God.

My father's career will be better understood if I give a few words of explanation about the Hutterian Brethren. The name derives from Jacob Hutter, who was born about 1496 at the village of Moos in Pusterthal, Tyrol, and who early became a leader of the Anabaptists in Moravia, in particular of the branch which adopted communism according to Acts 2. Jacob Hutter was burned to death as a martyr February 25, 1536. After much persecution lasting over two hundred years, sixty-seven souls escaped to Rumania and in 1770 into Russia. First they lived for seventy-two years about six hundred miles north of the Mennonite settlement in the Molotschna. They lived in a Bruderhof, holding all properties in common, until in 1819. At that time each family moved on its own land, although the name Hutterian Brethren was retained.

In the year 1842 (the year that my father was born) the Russian government moved them (at that time 50 families) about six hundred miles south to the Mennonite colony of Molotschna, because the government thought they had about the same belief as the Mennonites, especially on the military question. Here for the first time the Hutterites came in close contact with the

Mennonites. From that time on the word Hutterian or Hutterite was applied to their language or dialect, as well as to their religion, in order to distinguish from the "platt-deutsch" of the Mennonites. Here the church was organized according to Mennonite principles. In 1857 a minister by the name of Darius Walter organized a communistic Bruderhof again, although not all the Hutterites entered the Bruderhof. When all the Hutterites in 1874 and 1879 moved to America and settled down in South Dakota about half settled down in the Bruderhof and the other half settled down on individual farms, each family holding its own land and property. The non-Bruderhof people organized their local churches according to the principles of the Mennonite faith either as they had it in Russia already, or as a new adoption in America. Both groups kept the name Hutterite, although this referred to their dialect more than their religious views. Those that lived in Bruderhofs preferred to be called "Hutterian Brethren."

About 40 years ago some of the Hutterite Mennonites living outside the Bruderhofs joined the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Conference and established their local churches. These churches baptize by immersion and observe feet washing as an ordinance according to John 13. So among the descendants of the Hutterites there are three groups; the Bruderhof group who live in communistic colonies, having all property in common, the General Conference Mennonites, and the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren. My father never lived in a Bruderhof, nor did I ever hear him advocate joining the Bruderhof, although he was in a good standing with the brethren in the Bruderhof. He was a leader in the group which joined the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Conference.

Chicago, Ill.

Introduction

When it was decreed in 1870 by the Russian government that there was to be universal military training in that country in the future, there was great uneasiness among certain groups who believed in non-resistance. Among these were the Hutterites who at that time numbered about one hundred families and lived in the gouvernement of Jekaterinoslav, South Russia. They had four main settlements: Hutterthal, Neu Hutterthal, Hutterdorf and Johannesruh. Thirty-two of these families lived in two communistic colonies while others lived as private owners in villages as was then customary in that country. Under Czar Paul I. the Hutterites (as also the Mennonites) had secured a privelegium which guaranteed to them exemption from military training. This exemption was now seemingly withdrawn by Alexander II. and so a delegation composed of Rev. Paul Tschetter, then a young minister, twenty-nine years of age, Michael Stahl and a number of other brethren were sent to St. Petersburg in January, 1873, to investigate whether this privelegium would be valid in the future or not. The best that the Russian authorities would grant was non-combatant service. This was unsatisfactory to the Hutterian Brethren and so they decided to send a delegation to America to learn whether more favorable terms could be secured here in regard to military service. This delegation was composed of the same Rev. Paul Tschetter, and his uncle Lorenz Tschetter, both of Hutterthal. They

journeyed together with ten Mennonites, delegates also from Russia, who came to America for the same purpose. On this journey to America the diary which follows and which is the subject of this article was written. It was written in the German language and very likely was recorded from day to day, or as it seems sometimes, a day or two afterwards. The writer was a keen observer of farming conditions, amount of rainfall, fertility of soil, temperature, crops, water supply, etc. But he felt his responsibility not only in this respect, but also in the matter of securing possible exemption from military service for his brethren. He appeared before President Grant and pleaded his case. President Grant replied: "It would be unfair to favor one group of people more than another, but the constitution of the United States," he said, "guarantees religious liberty." To that extent the President was willing to meet their demands. This manuscript, which is the original, written by Rev. Tschetter on this journey, was put into my hands in 1921 when I first became interested in Hutterian history, by the Rev. Joseph W. Tschetter of Chicago, a son of the writer of the diary. Recently the idea came upon me to publish it, because it would probably prove of interest to others. The editor of the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW was enthusiastic about it and so with immense pleasure and interest I have translated it and put it into its present form.

DESCRIPTION OF A JOURNEY TO AMERICA, APRIL 14, 1873, WITH LORENZ TSCHETTER, ACCURATELY RECORDED FROM DAY TO DAY.

Saturday, April 14. I began my momentous journey to America taking leave of my wife and dear children with a heavy heart and also took leave of all my brothers and sisters. Due to circumstances my brother Joseph Tschetter and my sister-in-law could not be present although they had planned to accompany me as far as Nikopol. Their son had taken sick at Hutterdorf[1] and they wished to visit him there. There were two brethren visiting at our home at the time, i. e. George Hofer and Joseph Hofer and of these I also took leave. Love obliged my dear mother and father to accompany me as far as Nikopol and so we left with a sad and troubled heart, only God knowing if I should ever see my loved ones again. I put all my trust in the Lord that He might send His angels to guide and protect me.

There were also three brethren from Hutterthal[2] at our home, i. e. Peter Tschetter, Peter Mendel and Christian Hofer, who accompanied us as far as Nikopol for it seemed the will of the Lord to have a number of our brethren present when we departed. At five P. M. we arrived at Nikopol. We immediately went to see the steamship and

[1] Hutterdorf was a Hutterian village.

[2] Also a Hutterian village.

purchased our tickets to Cherson, second class, costing three ruble, sixty kopeck.[3]

Sunday, April 15. Early Sunday morning we all boarded the steamship which was named Listalscha. At six o'clock I took leave of my dear father and mother who embraced me and wept bitterly. So also Lorenz's daughter wept loudly and embraced her father. After this, we departed in God's name arriving safely at Cherson before evening.[4] We remained for the night at a European hotel. Cherson is a large city, well-built, and has paved streets.

Monday, April 16. After awaking all well, praise the Lord, we went to our steamship at eight o'clock and purchased tickets to Odessa, second class, and paid two ruble, forty kopeck. The name of the ship was Gibson (Giessen). There was quite a wind, but the ship did not rock much until we came upon the Black Sea. Here the wind became stronger, the waves rolled furiously, and the ship swayed violently to and fro. Lorenz went to the upper deck, but soon returned and said that the ship was very unsteady and the waves high. I also went on deck but soon began to feel bad since I was not accustomed to traveling on the sea. After a short while I returned to our cabin below. Then I again went to the upper deck for better air, as I had a severe headache. I remained there until we arrived at Odessa at five o'clock in the afternoon. Odessa is a large city, and we made our headquarters at the Maiback Nerro Lazar Hotel.

Klassen and myself called upon Toews[5] to get information in regard to our journey. He greeted us very cordially. Since it was late in the evening, he asked us to come again and see him early the next morning for further information.

Tuesday, April 17. In the morning after giving thanks to the Lord for His protection we called on Toews at nine o'clock and he went with us to the Exchange Bank in Odessa. He assisted us as much as possible. We exchanged only fifty-two ruble and fifty kopeck, one part into Austrian florins (gold) and the other part into francs. A florin is worth seventy kopeck silver, and a franc five ruble and ninety-three kopeck. He gave us letters of introduction to Trütschler in Berlin, and Maier in Hamburg.[6] We asked him whether it would be necessary to secure a different pass and he informed us that we might possibly have to exchange it for another in Hamburg and, if not, the pass we possessed now was good clear to America, for the Russian authorities

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3 A ruble was a Russian silver coin worth 51½ cents and a kopeck was worth about the 100th part of a ruble.

4 There were two Hutterian representatives, Rev. Paul Tschetter and his uncle Lorenz Tschetter, both from Neu Hutterthal. At Cherson they were joined in their journey to America by ten Mennonite brethren making an entire delegation of twelve.

5 Evidently Toews was in charge of the travelers information bureau at Odessa, and was in touch with the German Immigration offices in Berlin and Hamburg.

6 Trütschler was connected with the German steamship line and accommodated strangers on their way to Hamburg. Maier was a reliable hotel owner in Hamburg where they were to lodge while in the city.

do not favor exchanging their passes in Germany. We thanked him for his assistance and left. That same evening at eight o'clock we arrived at Wolotschisk on the Autsrian boundary line. We traveled throughout the night, third class with a mixed crowd of Jews, women and children. The train was so crowded that we were obliged to sit up all night and were unable to sleep much.

Wednesday, April 18. After traveling across long stretches of plains, hills, and valleys at a tremendous speed, we arrived at Wolotschisk at six o'clock in the evening. This city is on the boundary line between Austria and Russia. Our passes were examined here and our baggage inspected. We purchased a ticket to Podwotoczyska, costing ten kopeck[7] and from there another ticket to Oswiecim on the Prussian boundary line, for which we paid nineteen gulden and eleven kreutzer.[8] The Russian language became useless because no one understood it or could speak it. Most of the people spoke the Austrian language and some the German. This country is known as Galicia or Austrian Poland and is mostly woodland.

Thursday, April 19. At nine o'clock in the morning we arrived at Lemberg, the chief city of Galicia, where we changed cars and at seven in the evening came to Oswiecim. Here we purchased a ticket for Myslowitz, a short distance from Oswiecim, and remained for the night. We were tired from the journey for one cannot very well sleep on the train. We had a quiet room.

Friday, April 20. In the morning after we had praised and thanked the Lord for His protection, we departed for the station to proceed on our journey. We purchased tickets as far as Kassel and left at five o'clock in the morning from Myslowitz and came to Breslau, the chief city of Silesia. At Breslau we purchased tickets for Berlin, the chief city and capital of Prussia. We arrived in Berlin at eight o'clock in the evening in a large railroad station such as I had never seen in my life. This railroad station was even larger and more magnificent than the one at St. Petersburg. The railroad was crowded with thousands of people and there was great noise and bustle in and about the same. It was night and we were strangers in a city where, no doubt, plenty of wicked people can be found. Soon a man approached us, saying that he had quarters for us for the night nearby, and we entrusted ourselves to this stranger although with certain fear and distrust. We followed him rather reluctantly, into the basement of a large five story structure, where we found great crowds of people and here he showed us a dingy, little room with four bedsteads and one window, where we were to spend the night.

The room did not particularly appeal to any of us, but being unable to find a better one, we decided to remain there for the night. The manager and his wife seemed to be respectable and honest people. We locked the doors and prayed to God that He might protect us during the night. We retired and slept well.

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[7] A gulden was worth 48.2 cents and a kreutzer about one-half cent.

[8] Wolotschisk and Podwotoczyska are located on opposite sides of the river.

Saturday, April 21. After morning prayer, we called at the Hamburg railroad station about two verst distant,[9] for Trütschler was to assist us in the matter of exchanging our money. We did not find him at the office and waited for him two hours. When he arrived he greeted us cordially and exchanged for each of us seven hundred ruble into American money. For the seven hundred ruble we received six hundred twenty American silver dollars. He advised us to again change these American silver dollars to American paper money and gain a further premium which we did. We purchased third class tickets from Berlin to Hamburg, but secured them at the fourth-class rate. The distance from Berlin to Hamburg is one hundred thirty-seven miles. We left Berlin at ten A. M. by train and arrived at Hamburg at seven in the evening. The country between Berlin and Hamburg is very low and woody, so low in fact, that drainage-canals around the fields are necessary and by means of windmills the water is drained from the fields. When we arrived at the Hamburg railway station, we again found the same noise and bustle that we had already experienced in Berlin. One cried, "Come to my quarters," another, "I have a room for you" etc. All of a sudden we heard someone's voice above all the rest, "Klassen, Toews, Tschetter, come to me." We were surprised to hear our names in a strange place like Hamburg but were informed that he represented the German Company and had orders to accommodate us. We entered a spacious hall in a five story building, where boys and girls were dancing. I was almost terrified and shrank back. The man said, "Follow me, I will give you a room where you shall be undisturbed." This was true. I inquired of him as to who these people were who found so much pleasure in dancing, upon which he answered that they also expect to sail for America on April 24. I said, "They should rather pray than dance." "Yes," he said, "but we cannot always pray; we must enjoy ourselves." That is the way of the wicked world. We then went to our room and retired for the night.

Sunday, April 22. I remained in my room until noon, read the Word of God and meditated. In the afternoon we called upon the agent August Bolten and presented to him our letter of introduction from Toews of Odessa. After he had read the letter, he said that he would do everything possible to accommodate us. We purchased second-class return tickets from him, two hundred dollars each, and he promised to ask the captain on the ship to give us a good cabin. We thanked him for his kind assistance and returned to our lodging place. The immigration building on one side faces the water front and rests upon strong piers.

Monday, April 23. During the night shortly before daybreak many more emigrants arrived, mostly Germans, Mecklenburgers from Prussia, with women and children, numbering more than five hundred souls. They were emigrating for various reasons. Here at the immigration building all ate at one table and at a regular hour. Breakfast was served at seven in the morning and consisted of a large cup of coffee

[9] A verst is a Russian measure of distance, approximately 3500 feet in length.

and white bread. At noon, soup, meat and potatoes and in the evening a cup of coffee.[10] The board was good.

In the afternoon I went out sight-seeing in the city and among other places I drifted into a bookstore, where I purchased a little book on Menno Simons. I walked through the city and observed the hustle and bustle of the city, for Hamburg is a great business and commercial center with many canals and bridges, large warehouses and an excellent harbor in which many ships were anchored. The people of Hamburg are mostly Lutherans. The city has large buildings, five, six, and seven stories in height. Most of the buildings face a water front and rest on piers. In the evening I again returned to my room and retired for the night.

Tuesday, April 24. I remained in my room practically the entire day, writing letters, and spent some time buying the necessities for the ocean voyage. I was also invited to visit Rev. Rosen,[11] but feared that I might get into an argument with him, for I knew that he was an unsound Mennonite. The Apostle warns us to "avoid those who may harm our souls."

Wednesday, April 25. In the morning we left our lodging place and drove to the ship which was harbored in the Elbe about two verst away. Here our passes were examined and we entered the ship with sighs and prayers to God, trusting our all in Him that He might guide and protect us on the wide and angry ocean. We departed at eight o'clock in the morning in a small ship and after sailing for two hours we came to a very large ship which we entered and were assigned to our cabins. There were six beds in the cabin and, since there were only four of us, two friends joined our company and shared the sleeping room with us. For a dining room and a sitting room there was a large hall. There was always plenty to eat, such as soup, meat, fish, cheese, butter, plums, cherries, nuts, apples, and many other things, the names of which I did not know. Meals were served four times daily, one hundred eating at each board. Words fail me to express the table manners and courtesy of both waiters and patrons. From the Elbe we sailed the first day into the North Sea. The sea was calm all day and we slept soundly that night.

Thursday, April 26. The sea was calm until ten o'clock in the morning, then the wind increased and the ship commenced to sway back and forth. I began to have a severe headache, but was able to partake of a good dinner. Some people had to leave the dinner table, and still others did not even leave their cabins. Of our companions, Toews did not eat a morsel all day. I was also able to eat lunch and supper. As our ship sailed into the English Channel, shortly before evening, the wind increased so that we were unable to sleep very much. I began

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[10] In the language of the Hutterians "a cup of coffee" was symbolical of the evening meal because coffee was not used for the midday meal. Altho spoken of only as "a cup of coffee" it included a full meal of bread, butter, meat, potatoes, etc.

[11] Berend Karl Roosen, pastor of the Mennonite Church at Hamburg, Altona.

to feel so bad that I had to go on deck to get better air. As I watched the rolling waves and the ship plowing through huge mountains of water, my spirit went up to God to Whose care we had entrusted ourselves. The godless were little disturbed by the great storm. They continued dancing and were merry. After a while I returned to our cabin and retired for the night.

Friday, April 27. When I awoke Friday morning it was day and the ship stood still. I thanked my heavenly Father for His protection for another day and night. I went on deck and in the distance could see Havre, France, a beautiful city with a fine harbor in which many ships were anchored. At Havre we were detained for twenty-four hours, and spent the time sight-seeing in the city. During this time our ship was loaded with a supply of coal and water. Around the city of Havre several fortresses are located.

Saturday, April 28. At eight o'clock in the morning we steamed out of the harbor of Havre. Our hearts went up to God, that He might protect us on our voyage and send His angels to guide us on the wide ocean. After a lapse of two hours we lost sight of all land and now only the blue heavens and the deep ocean could be seen. The ship moved along smoothly that day. The frivolous and gay crowd was happy and paraded up and down the deck, a thing I abhorred. I thought it would have been more appropriate to pray to God for His protection, but they had not the slightest thought of this. I went to bed and slept well that night.

Sunday, April 29. Awoke all well and thanked my Lord for His Fatherly protection. The ship sailed on smooth seas until ten o'clock in the morning when a storm arose which rocked the ship to and fro so that many of the passengers began to feel sick. Only those who were used to traveling on the sea and those who possessed a strong constitution were not affected. I, being frequently bothered with headaches, was also forced to retire to my room, although I was able to partake of a light dinner, lunch and also supper. Many left the table while others did not even appear at meal-time. I thought and remarked to some of the people, "Yesterday you were so jolly and gay and today you look so sad."

Monday, April 30. Did not feel well all day. Remained in bed most of the day without eating much.

Tuesday, May 1. Rained in the morning. Felt good so that I could eat well. Had rain and storm in the evening so that the ship rocked considerably, but I was already getting accustomed to this.

Wednesday, May 2. The ocean was more calm than any day since our departure. The people recovered their former health, but at the same time became more godless. In the evening the wind became stronger.

Thursday, May 3. The sea was quiet. One of our brethren, Toews, had been in bed for eight days and during that time had hardly eaten anything. The other brother, Klassen, was not seasick at all.

Friday, May 4. Rain and storm to-day. The waves were so high that they seemed as mountains and the ship at times seemed to be moving be-

tween two walls. It was nearly impossible to eat for the tables were very unsteady. Many again became seasick, but I was not materially affected for I was already used to sea travel. The storm raged far into the night.

Saturday, May 5. Rain in the morning and the ocean was more calm. The wind blew from the east. The sails were put up and this greatly increased the speed of the ship so that we sailed three hundred forty miles in twenty-four hours, as formerly we made only two hundred ninety-eight to three hundred fifteen miles per day. The weather became colder for we began to approach the icebergs near Iceland.

Sunday, May 6. This was a beautiful Sunday morning. The sea was quiet. In the morning the pastor delivered a sermon on Psalm L, 14.[12] The prayer which he offered was reverent and effective, but the sermon seemed much too mild for such godless rabble as that on the ship. His object in the sermon seemed merely to entertain the audience. At dinner an offering was taken for a family, whose father and husband had died on the voyage and who were in meager circumstances. I also gave a small donation. The orphans were four children, most of them already grown, the youngest being nine years old. At eleven o'clock in the night the corpse was lowered into the depths of the sea and buried beneath the waves. The burial was not public so as not to frighten the people on board the ship.

Monday, May 7. In the morning at ten o'clock the flag was raised and we met a small ship from New York which escorted our ship back to the city. Oh how the people all rejoiced that land was finally to be in sight soon. The pastor sang a song of Thanksgiving with a group of men and women in which I heartily joined. It gave me great joy to know that there were at least some on board the ship, who thought of praising God for His guidance and protection during our long voyage.

Tuesday, May 8. Early in the morning, we sighted land toward the north after wandering on the large and stormy ocean for thirteen days. We all rejoiced at the sight of land. It was not until eleven o'clock that the magnificent "Silesia" stopped and we were all transferred to a smaller steamship and after steaming past more than one hundred ships in one hour we landed at Hoboken. At noon we left the ship, went to the city and found a lodging place in the Karles Unrein Hotel where we had dinner. During the afternoon and evening until twelve o'clock I wrote letters and then retired for the night in God's name.

Wednesday, May 9. After breakfast, at ten o'clock we called on Pastor Neumondt, crossing a small body of water in a steamboat in order to get to his house to get some information and advice. He greeted us cordially, but his advice according to my opinion was too excessive. He spoke too much and acted too wise. He asked us to call again in the afternoon, when he would give us references and advise us as to exchanging our money. Klassen and Toews went, but Lorenz and

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[12] "Offer unto God Thanksgiving and pay thy vows unto the most High." Psalm L, 14.

myself did not and exchanged our money without his assistance. For three hundred dollars in gold we received three hundred fifty dollars in paper money. New York is a magnificent and beautiful city with many large ships in the harbor and is very populous. The railroads run double-deck,[13] supported by steel pillars. In the evening at eight o'clock we departed from Hoboken by train for Elkhart, Indiana. We passed through a tunnel two versts in length. Throughout the entire night we traveled through a mountainous region.

Thursday, May 10. At eight o'clock in the morning the locomotive suddenly lost the rest of the train but returned to pick us up. Throughout the day we again traversed a country with lofty mountains, some as high as six hundred feet. The mountains are rocky and are covered with trees. People are found living at the foot of the mountains, plowing such small patches as they have cleared. On the mountain sides there seem to be springs that develop into small rivulets flowing down the steep grades. The soil is chiefly of a yellowish color. The country with its many green trees seems not a bad region, very beautiful but probably not so suitable for agricultural purposes. That same midnight we arrived at Domkirch (Dunkirk) where we remained for the night. We had a good night's rest. The lady at the hotel could speak German but in general the people were English speaking.

Friday, May 11. At nine o'clock in the morning we departed from Domkirch. Domkirch is near a large lake (Lake Ontario) and the country is quite level with many orchards. The trees were in full bloom. At three o'clock we came near the lake and passed through the city of Ziehago[14] in which there were many steel factories and foundries. At three in the morning we arrived at Elkhart and remained in the station until morning. We could sleep little for there was much noise caused by steam engines. From New York we traveled to Elkhart in forty-six hours.

Saturday, May 12. In the morning we called at the home of John Funk, a minister of the Old Mennonite Church. He was not at home, but we were cordially greeted by members of his family and given breakfast. The Old Mennonites have beards and shave around the mouth. They rather speak English than German. After breakfast we called at the Funk publishing house. I was given a little book and also purchased a song book. In the afternoon there was a street parade in Elkhart. Thirty-four wagons in which were all kinds of animals passed through the streets. Seven teams of horses were hitched to the first wagon. All the men and horses were decorated with plumes of red, white, and green colors. The wagon was as if of gold and seated upon it were musicians and comedians who played tunes.[15] The other wagons were all drawn by two and three teams. I have never seen such things in all my life. In the afternoon there

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13 Here the writer refers to the elevated trains which he for the first time saw in New York City.

14 The name of this town seems to be misspelled.

15 The writer was all his life opposed to instrumental music and did not permit the members of his church to have any musical instruments in their home.

was a circus. I did not attend for I considered it a sin to witness such devilish things. I was glad that I had been relieved of the godless rabble with whom I was obliged to spend such a long time on the ocean. In the afternoon many Mennonites came to Elkhart and a man named Isaac became acquainted with us and took us to his home. We wished to attend church services the next day and the church was not far away from Isaac's home.[16] They do not live in villages like we do.[17] Every one has his own piece of land which is fenced. Isaac's land is seven miles from the church. We arrived at his home just at sunset and were warmly welcomed. Isaac has a farm of two hundred acres of which one hundred acres is woodland. He also has a fine orchard.

Sunday, May 13. Awoke all well and gave praise to God for it. At nine o'clock we drove to church with Isaac where many people had already assembled. They gave me a seat among the ministers. It happened incidentally that an infant had recently died and so the funeral services commenced. Songs were sung for the opening, the first one in German and then another one in English. The first sermon was in German on the text Corinthians, 1, 15. Then followed an English sermon of which I understood nothing. Prayers were said aloud and the people knelt, although some remained seated. After this another song was sung and then the child was carried out and buried. While the child was being buried, the congregation sang another song.

The style of dress among the men is conservative. Their coats are somewhat short with buttons on the trousers and vests.[18] The young men are well dressed, wearing breast shirts with green or blue neckties. They part their hair in the middle like we do and some part their hair on the side. Most of the men have beards. The women are dressed in a variety of styles and colors. Some wear white knitted caps with lace in front. Others wear hats of various colors. Girls wear straw hats with long ribbons. Some are dressed in white, others in blue, black, red, etc.[19] The small children are also taken to church services, some sitting on their mother's lap while others walk around. After the services were over, one of the women repented for her sins. The minister then made a few remarks. The Old Mennonites address each other as "brethren" and "sisters." The ministers are elected, just as we do, and are finally chosen by lot.[20] The Lord's Sup-

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16 Isaac Gelert (cf diary entry for July 12). The church was that known as the Yellow Creek congregation.

17 In Russia the Hutterians lived in villages although under private ownership, with the exception of two communistic colonies at Hutterdorf. All the Hutterians formerly lived under communism but many had since 1819 changed to private ownership.

18 This fact is mentioned because hooks and eyes were used among the Hutterians instead of buttons.

19 Hutterian women were not permitted to wear hats or gay-colored dresses. They wore shawls and the older generation does so to this day, although the younger people are becoming more Americanized.

20 Several candidates are first nominated and the final choice is made by drawing lots according to the Scriptures (Acts I, 26).

per is taken twice a year, not at a definite time and not for the forgiveness of sins, but in memory of the suffering and death of Christ. They baptize when an applicant calls for baptism.[21] The ministers do not marry couples in case one is a member of the church and the other is not. Some marry couples if both are non-members and when they are later baptized they are accepted into the membership of the church and become brethren and sisters of the same. The ban is enforced as in our church. If the accused repents and confesses, he is again taken into the church.

There was one thing which I did not approve and that was the fact that some of the women smoked and chewed tobacco. They spoke mostly the English for that is the language they study in school. They can speak only a broken German, even one of the ministers was unable to speak in German. We again went to the home of Isaac and a certain Armendiener[22] went with us. I inquired of him why it was that they preach in the English language; whether it was against the law to preach in German. He said, "No, the government does not object, neither does the government care what one preaches. The chief reason is that so few of the people understand the German language." I asked him why. He told me, "Most of the people come from Holland and England and therefore know no German." I wondered whether these people realize how much they have lost by giving up their mother tongue. For dinner we were at Isaac's, fifteen in number. At three o'clock we again assembled at the church, where I preached a sermon on the text, I John V, 14 "For whosoever is born of God overcometh the world." I preached according to our custom because the ministers wished it that way. According to our custom I dictated the songs.[23] After the services, one of the ministers, Daniel Brennemann invited me to his home. All the meals, breakfast, dinner and supper were the same; coffee, ham, butter, white bread, syrup, apple sauce, cherry cakes and blackberries. Prayer is said before meal-time, but not after. After supper we sang a song, had a brief prayer service and then retired for the night.

Monday, May 14. In the morning after we had risen, Daniel led in prayer and then we had breakfast. After supper he took us to Isaac, who lived four miles away. The people in the community have good horses and strong harnesses, but the wagons are not so very good and convenient. The wagon boxes are long and look like a trough. The wheels have wooden axles and are very high, with only a little iron used as rims. The people have good cows which cost about forty dollars per head, also fine hogs, which, as a rule, are fat. They feed them corn. Only a few sheep can be seen and these are not very good. Most

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21 The Hutterian method of baptism is by sprinkling, after a period of instruction in the Bible under the direction of a minister.

22 Armendiener, German title for deacon, probably not recognized as such by Tschetter.

23 In the Hutterian Church services the sermons are read from manuscript and the songs are dictated by a minister. A stanza or part of a stanza is read at a time and then sung by the congregation and that continuing until the song is ended. No songbooks are used by the congregation.

of the money is made on cattle and wheat. I also inquired about the matter of military service. The ministers said that their young men were now exempt but during the last war they had to pay three hundred dollars for every young man who was drafted.[24] I asked about those who were unable to pay, and they said that the churches assisted those who were unable to pay that amount. During times of peace these three hundred dollars need not be paid. In America the soldiers are hired and paid a salary. In my travels in America so far, I have seen very few soldiers. They are stationed only near the boundary lines to protect the country against the Indians. A murderer in America is punished by hanging, if found guilty. A thief is imprisoned in a penitentiary for a time. I inquired if Mennonites bring suits into the courts and if they are required to vote. I was told that the Mennonites do not go to court, and the matter of voting is voluntary. In regard to taxes I was informed that a person's property is first assessed and then he pays according to the amount of property possessed, so much per one hundred dollars. Isaac said that he owns one hundred forty-five acres of land and paid forty last year, payable to the county or district wherein one resides. I also asked in regard to insects that may prove injurious to the crops. He said that there were potato bugs, which he also showed to us. They were black and had white stripes with yellow heads and were about the size of a bean. They were first seen years ago and unless they are picked off, there is no potato crop. These bugs are very poisonous, but they are not injurious to wheat.[25] In the afternoon Isaac took us to Elkhart, but Funk was not at home. As a matter of pastime I went to see his press. The machinery and the speed with which it works is a marvel. I have never seen anything like it. At ten o'clock the same evening, Funk came home.

Tuesday, May 15. In the morning Funk told us that Suderman of Berdjansk and Buller of Alexanderwohl[26] had telegraphed that their ship would arrive in New York Wednesday and he advised us to wait until they had arrived and thus work with them together in our appeals to the government. Funk said that he would accompany us since we were unacquainted with the English language. In the evening two ministers and two other brethren from Pennsylvania came to Funk's house for the purpose of uniting the different churches in the community.[27] In the morning these brethren led in the morning worship and prayer and after breakfast at eight we left, ten of us on two wagons to go out into the country a distance of ten miles to attend church services. One of the ministers of Pennsylvania preached a sermon. Then I followed with an extemporaneous sermon, as much as the Lord gave me grace, for it is customary here in America to preach from memory. After the sermons, Funk gave the following report of

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[24] American Civil War.

[25] The Hutterians were interested in wheat-raising and cattle-raising, as may be inferred from the diary. Those were their chief occupations in Russia.

[26] Berdjansk and Alexanderwohl were Mennonite Settlements in South Russia not far from where the Hutterians lived.

[27] Probably a committee called in to deal with the Whisler difficulty.

what had been decided at the Conference.[28] 1. That they should not chew tobacco during church services because spitting is obnoxious. 2. Not to run back and forth so much during the services and keep from vain talk. 3. Everyone should act as is fitting for a Christian. 4. Parents should raise their children in the fear of the Lord. 5. A minister should be elected and the brethren should pray so that the Lord may show whom to choose. Brother Funk, four people from Pennsylvania and four of us were invited to dinner by one of the brethren. At three o'clock we again went to a church six miles away, where services were conducted and in the evening we had supper at the home of a man named Holdemann. There were nine of us at the table. In the evening we again went to church where I preached the first sermon, followed by the two Pennsylvania ministers. One of these ministers did not appeal to me because he smoked and as a whole seemed a rather cold Christian. We spent the night at Joseph Holdemann's.

Wednesday, May 16. In the morning after breakfast, David,[29] one of the Old Mennonites, took us to the Amish Mennonites who live six miles away, and left us at the home of a minister named Mosi, where we had dinner and supper. After supper Mosi took us to another minister where we remained for the night. The Amish Mennonites are more plain in their style of dress as well as in their homes in comparison with the Old Mennonites. They are not permitted to wear loud-colored clothes or to dye anything in a gay color. Their clothes must be of one color. They use hooks and eyes instead of buttons except on trousers. The men must wear hats instead of caps. Their trousers are of a blue color and have a tight fit. The slit in the trousers is on the side instead of in front. They are not permitted to cut their beards around the mouth. The hair is worn long. Girls and women must cover their heads with a white hood. In their style of clothes the Amish Mennonites agree with our Hutterites. They have no church buildings but have their church services in the different homes.[30] The man in whose house the services are held must then furnish dinner for the entire group. Visiting ministers may not preach in their services.[31] The Old Mennonites are more hospitable to visitors than the Amish Mennonites but they also have their dark sides. The minister at whose home I stayed had three guns in his house and everyone in the house smoked, even the women. What is worst among the Old Mennonites, is that even the ministers smoke.

The country in this community is very prosperous with fine orchards and pastures and beautiful fields of grain. The people seem pale and not very healthy. They have plenty to eat and in my opinion they eat too much, especially of sweets and fruits. If they would eat

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28 The Mennonite Annual Conference.

29 Possibly David Burkholder. He took them to the Amish community near Nappanee.

30 Communistic Hutterians to this day do not have a church building. Services are held in the school house.

31 Only on very rare occasions were visiting ministers permitted to preach in Hutterian church services.

more sour foods, they would look more healthy. They do most of the work themselves for I did not see many hired men and maids.

Thursday, May 17. In the morning after I had arisen from my bed and as I walked out into the yard I heard someone shooting. Who would be shooting so early in the morning I thought, and just then a gray-haired old minister emerged from the woods, gun in hand. I did not know what to think and much less what to say. What a fine example of a non-resistant Mennonite.[32] We had breakfast at his house and I purchased from him a Martyr's Song-Book for one dollar.[32] After that he accompanied us to Elder David. Both David and his wife smoked. Here we had dinner and in the afternoon David took us to one of the Old Mennonites, a certain John Kreider, who was a very friendly man and he and his wife showed us great hospitality. Here we had supper and after that attended evening services in the church, where I preached the sermon. No other minister was present. After the services we again returned to the home of Kreider where we remained for the night. They had a large house. Most of the houses in the community are wooden, two-story structures. The upper story is used for bedrooms for visitors and the floors are covered with red and checked rugs. Many of the rooms have mirrors and the walls are papered.

Friday, May 18. In the morning we arose, all well, praise God for it. After breakfast John Kreider took us to Joseph Holdemann, six miles away where we had dinner and after that Kreider took us to Elkhart to Funk, where we remained for the night.

Saturday, May 19. To-day I remained in my room the entire day and wrote a letter home.

Sunday, May 20. To-day I felt somewhat ill. Immediately after breakfast I called on a certain Brennemann and went to church with him for this was Pentecost Sunday. I preached on Acts 2. After the sermon there was a short business meeting which dealt with two brethren, who had trouble amongst themselves. They said, however, that they had no differences and were ready to partake of the Lord's Supper. With this the meeting was dismissed, and we went home with Rev. Daniel Brennemann together with a large number of other guests. After returning to my room at Funk's house in the city, I attended evening services at the Evangelical Church which was located next to Funk's house. The Evangelicals differ from the Lutherans somewhat in their form of baptism. They do not emphasize infant baptism so much. The pastor spoke on "Cast thy burden on the Lord and he shall sustain thee: he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved. But thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction." (Psalm LV, 22-23). The minister began to speak louder and louder and as I sat near the pulpit I was greatly bewildered; in fact I felt like running from the church. He marched back and forth behind the pulpit, once to this side and then to the other as if he were insane. He hammered on the pulpit with his fist, and pointing to his heart he cried: "Herein must the Lord live." At times he pointed toward

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[32] The *Ausbund.*

heaven and then again down to hell, shouting like a mad man, for only a mad man could act like he did. His actions were not those of a minister of the Gospel but those of a general. Sometimes he praised everyone into heaven and then again he damned us all into hell. It is not in my power to describe this and my readers will doubt my statements, but it remains true nevertheless. I have been in many churches but have never witnessed the like. A comedy could hardly offer more entertainment. He preached the truth, but with great indiscretion and lack of judgment.

Monday, May 21. As I awoke to-day I felt a headache and stomach pains. I praised the Lord for His protection and guidance. I feared a fever, because of the many places where one eats in traveling. After breakfast I went to a druggist for some medicine. The doctor said that I had quite a high fever but after taking the medicine I felt much better. In the afternoon I visited a paper mill. The paper is made of all sorts of old rags. At first the rags are moistened and then stuffed into a large container where they must remain for a time. It is then cut fine, run through rollers, and finally becomes paper.

The Old Mennonites permit their people to have instrumental music. Last Sunday, when we visited at Brenneman's, who is overseer of the poor,[33] he asked us if we enjoyed music. We said, "No." He had a music box in his house and he began to play the instrument. After he had played several pieces, I remarked to him that the Apostle said, "Speak to yourselves in Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord" (Eph. V, 19).[34] He said that the Psalmist David also played on his harp and I replied that David was also a warrior and had shed much blood. Thereupon he became silent and did not say another word.

(To be continued)

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[33] Deacon Henry Brenneman, Elkhart, Indiana.

[34] German version says, "Singet und spielet dem Herrn in euren Herzen." Eph. V, 19.

THE FAITH OF THE SWISS BRETHREN

III

JOHN HORSCH

IV

The Doctrines of Sin, Salvation, and Sanctification

On the doctrine of original sin the Swiss Brethren agreed with state church Protestantism. They did not deny original sin, as has been supposed by some of their opponents. In other words, they did not question the disastrous effects of the sin of Adam on the human race. They taught that all descendants of Adam inherited a sinful nature, but that through the atoning sacrifice of Christ all infants are within the covenant of divine grace and are saved notwithstanding original sin. Rejecting the view that baptism annuls the guilt of original sin, they attributed to the blood of Christ which was shed for all men what in Catholic theology is ascribed to the act of baptism.

"We believe that all children who cannot yet distinguish between good and evil are assuredly saved through the sufferings of Christ, the second Adam," says Conrad Grebel. And again: "As concerns the argument that faith is required of all [for salvation] we hold that children are excepted, and believe that they are saved without faith."[141] In the disputation of Bern, in 1538, the spokesman of the Brethren said: "The infants are saved and are heirs of eternal life through the death of Christ . . . although they have inherited the sinful nature from Adam. But as they have inherited it without any fault of their own, so they are also saved without faith."[142]

The supposition that the Brethren did not accept the doctrine of justification by faith, or salvation through the blood of Christ, is another unfounded insinuation of their opponents. George

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[141] *Gedenkschrift zum 400 jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten,* Ludwigshafen a. Rh., 1925, p. 97; Cornelius, *Muensterische Aufruhr,* vol. II, p. 245. Concerning Menno Simons' teaching on original sin cf. Horsch, J., *Menno Simons, his Life, Labors and Teachings,* Scottdale, Pa., 1916, pp. 236, 146.

[142] *Acta des gesprächs,* fol. 191.

Blaurock, in a brief confession of faith which he addressed to the Council of Zurich, wrote:

> Christ Jesus came to bring again what was lost through the fall of Adam, through which we all would be dead in sin if God had not sent His Son and given Him all power in heaven and on earth, that every one who would call upon His name and trust in Him should have eternal life. Through His death all who call upon His name shall have forgiveness of sins. For an outward indication of this, He commanded them to be baptized . . . . And that they [those who were baptized] might continuously be mindful of the death of Christ and never forget His shed blood, I have talked to them about Christ's ordinance which He instituted at His supper, and we broke the bread and partook of the cup in order to be mindful that we all were redeemed by the one body of Christ and cleansed by one blood, that we might thus be one in our Lord, and one the other's brother and sister in Christ.[143]

The Confession of Schleitheim (the first Mennonite confession of faith drawn up by Michael Sattler and approved in 1527) has, in the article on baptism, the following to the point:

> Baptism shall be administered to all who have been instructed, who show repentance and newness of life, and who of a truth believe that their sins were taken away by Christ, and are willing to walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and to be buried into His death, that they may rise with Him, and who of their own accord desire to be baptized by us.[144]

Martin Bucer, having had a number of conferences with Michael Sattler, said that "his principal objection to infant baptism was the general belief that man is christened, or saved, through it, when in fact it is faith that saves." Bucer added that "concerning redemption through Jesus Christ on which all depends we have not found in Michael Sattler such errors as in Hans Denck."[145]

Wolfgang Capito, one of the Zwinglian reformers of Strasburg wrote in 1527 about the Swiss Brethren: "Their most prominent point of teaching is that we should hear Christ, the Son of

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143 Egli, *Actensammlung,* p. 288 f.

144 *Brüderlich Vereinigung,* p. 31. Zwingli, in commenting on this statement, makes the significant assertion that it is a veiled denial of justification by faith, since a willingness to walk in newness of life is insisted upon. Jackson, *Selected Works,* p. 178 f. Cf. Baur, *Zwinglis Theologie,* vol. II, p. 213.

145 *Getrewe Warnung der Prediger des Evangelii zu Strassburg vber die Artikel so Jacob Kautz Prediger zu Wormbs hat lossen aussgohn, die Frucht der Schrifft vnd Gottes Worts, den Kindertauff, vnd erlosung vnseres Herren Jesu Christi, Sampt anderem darin sich Hans Denken vnd anderer Widertäuffer schwere yrthumb erregen, betreffend.* Strasburg, 1527. The points on which Hans Denck differed from the Swiss Brethren will be set forth in connection with the presentation of their view of the church.

God, and that whoever believes in Him has everlasting life."[146] Martin Weniger, the principal spokesman of the Brethren in the debate of Zofingen, in 1532, said: "As the people of Israel were delivered from raging Pharaoh by the blood of the Passover lamb, so also we are delivered from the fetters of Satan by the blood of Christ."[147] Again, in the debate of 1538, at Bern, the Brethren said: "Christ is the new and living way . . . . As through one man—Adam—death came into the world, so also through one—Christ—it was taken away. All who believe in Him have eternal life through His blood."[148]

Pilgram Marbeck says on justification by faith:

> The apostles have preached the Gospel as they were bidden, namely that Christ died for the sins of the whole world, that He has reconciled the Father's wrath, has atoned for unrighteousness by His blood, and saves from eternal death, so that henceforth every believer, being a temple of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has become partaker of the new, eternal life and is to live blamelessly.[149]

Again Marbeck says:

> To believe that baptism cleanses the infant from original sin and that through it the child is christened, or made a Christian, as is the general belief of the people, is terrible idolatry and an abomination before God; it is, as said above, a derision and mockery of the blood of Christ. For only the blood of the spotless Lamb, Jesus Christ, through every one's personal faith and renewing of the heart, cleanses from sin.[150]

In a *Supplication* handed over to the civil authorities by the Brethren in the Canton Zurich, in 1589, they say:

> But, dear sirs, as concerns the accusation made by your preachers that we would be saved by our works and sufferings [enduring persecution], and thus render the redemptive work of Christ vain and useless, in this they do us wrong; for all good that we can do or accomplish is only the fruit of a true living faith.[151]

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146 Hulshof, *Doopsgezinden te Straatsburg,* p. 66.

147 *Zofingen,* fol. 149b.

148 *Acta des gesprächs,* fol. 85.

149 *Gedenkschrift,* p. 194.

150 *Ibid.* 218.

151 Bergmann, C., *Die Täuferbewegung im Kanton Zürich bis* 1660, Leipzig, 1916, p. 60. S. Cramer (Hauck, *Reil-Encyclopädie,* vol. XII. p. 589) asserts concerning Menno Simons that his conversion "had nothing to do with accepting God's grace in Christ in consequence of conviction of sin and repentance." Fortunately Menno has committed himself clearly on this point. Speaking of his conversion he says: "My heart trembled within me. I prayed God with sighs and tears to grant me, a troubled sinner, the gift of His grace and create

From a later period we have a statement to the point from the pen of George Thormann, a decan or minister of a higher rank in the state church of Bern. He said that the Brethren do not believe that we are saved by our works or merit, "but by grace alone, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus (Rom. 3:24)." He added that an elder (bishop) of the Brethren whom he asked regarding this point assured him that "they ascribe no merit whatever to their works, knowing fully that their works are quite imperfect before God and do not merit anything before Him."[152]

Many writers have charged the Swiss Brethren with teaching perfectionism, or the doctrine of the entire eradication of sin from the heart of the believer, eliminating the further need of praying, "Forgive us our debts." Past sins being forgiven, the believer's own righteousness is, according to this doctrine, flawless before God. The doctrine of perfectionism is to this day ascribed to the Swiss Brethren by leading church historians who make this assertion as an evidence of their supposed general doctrinal unsoundness and as a proof that they were the "spiritual children" of Thomas Münzer.

The writings and preserved oral testimony of the Brethren explicitly contradict the charge of teaching perfectionism. Zwingli accused Felix Manz of defending this doctrine but added that he (Manz) would not confess to be entirely sinless.[153] Manz did not admit the charge.[154] In the great disputation held in Bern, in 1538, it was found that there was agreement on the point of sinlessness, or perfectionism, between the Brethren and the theologians of the Zwinglian state church.[155]

Of the pertinent testimonies that the Brethren did not teach this doctrine we shall quote a few. Heinrich Hottinger of Zollikon, near Zurich, in a letter dated August 19, 1525, petitioned the Council of Zurich "not to believe every liar who slanders me and others. For some time a report has been spread that some of us [the Brethren] teach that one may live without sin, also that we

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in me a clean heart; that through the merits of the crimson blood of Christ He would graciously forgive my unclean walk and ease-seeking life, and bestow upon me wisdom, Spirit, candor, and courage," etc. (*Opera* sig. * * 3b; *Works,* vol. I, p. 5a).

152 Thormann, G., *Probier-Stein . . . dess Täufferthums,* Bern. 1693, p. 431.

153 Egli, *Actensammlung,* p. 309. The death sentence passed over Manz contains a statement of his dissenting opinions and teaching but does not mention this point.

154 *Ibid.,* p. 311. compare Usteri, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 1882, p. 214.

155 *Acta des gesprächs,* fol. 91.

boast of living without sin. And now it has been asserted that I have taught that to commit murder, adultery, or theft is not sin [to the believer]. Thus I am being slandered . . ."[156] Martin Weniger said in the disputation of Zofingen: "In me there is nothing good. I am unable of myself even to think anything that is good, but am, as others, flesh and blood and subject to temptation. But that I should let these reign, I answer, No. Therefore God must give me grace to overcome."[157] In the disputation at Bern, in 1538, the Brethren stated that they "never taught that they could not sin, or were without sin."[158] They said further: "We have said a little while ago that believers are sinners, namely through original sin from Adam. . . . Again, it is quite possible that one may be overtaken, and sin from weakness."[159] Andreas Castelberg, having been accused of trespassing certain ordinances, of the Council, protested his innocence of the charges made, but added: "Before God I am among the greatest of sinners."[160]

In an *Apologia* addressed to the civil authorities of Bern, in the sixteenth century, the Brethren of that canton expressed the hope that there may be among the councilmen ("lords") those "who have compassion with us," for, they say further, "we all stand in need of divine forbearance and have every reason to pray that God enter not into judgment with us [Psalm 143:2] nor deal with us according to our deserts. Therefore we are in duty bound to show mercy toward each other."[161]

The Brethren had issued a booklet setting forth their views on perfectionism. Bullinger,[162] in his refutation of their doctrine, does not quote from this booklet; he would presumably have done so if they had defended sinlessness. Menno Simons also saw himself compelled to repudiate the charge of teaching perfectionism.

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156 Egli, *Actensammlung,* p. 384.

157 *Zofingen,* fol. 121b. Compare *Acta des gesprächs,* fol. 60.

158 *Acta des gesprächs,* fol. 101.

159 *Ibid.,* fol. 97 f. Wilhelm Echsel said in 1525 their purpose was to abstain from vices and to keep in mind that they must give an account to God." (Fussli, *Beyträge,* vol. III, p. 254.

160 *"Gegen Gott aber bin ich unter den Sündern nit der mindest."* Jecklin, F., *Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer,* Anzeiger fuer Schweizerische Geschichte, 1900. No. 3, p. 330.

161 *Apologia der Widertheufren an ein h. Obrekheit der Stadt Bern dass man sy ihrer Sect halb unantastet lasse.* (Staatsarchiv Bern).

162 Bullinger, *Widertöufferen ursprung,* fol. 230. In all probability this was one of the booklets of the Brethren mentioned but not further described by Bullinger (cf. note 2). In this case it would be noteworthy that he does not quote from it seeing that he was looking for unorthodox views on perfectionism.

In the statement often found in his writings that he is not sinless his purpose was to show that he did not teach sinless perfection.

The accusation of teaching perfectionism may have been occasioned by the fact that the Brethren laid great stress on the need of consistent Christian living. Various writers, among them Bullinger[163] and Johannes Kessler,[164] have charged them with unduly emphasizing good works and Christian virtues. Bullinger says that in their opinion no one could be saved without good works. Zwingli, as indicated above, accused them of rejecting the doctrine of justification by faith because they insisted on the need of "walking in newness of life.[165] But while they believed that true faith is unfailingly fruitful of "works meet for repentance," they nevertheless taught that salvation is by faith. They complained that "because we desire to live without sin, we are hated and are slanderously reported that we pretend to live sinless or to be without sin."[166]

George Thormann wrote concerning the Brethren: "They always preach only repentance and holiness."[167] At the same time he admits (as does also Bullinger and the representatives of the state church in the great debates) that among the membership of the national church "there are many godless." Again, Bullinger, in his principal work against the Brethren says that the state church "does not at all despise or reject the works [the consistent Christian life] of the believer."[168] This the Brethren freely admitted, but believed to be beside the point. They did not assert that the state church condemned a pious Christian life; nevertheless, according to Bullinger, they believed that preaching in the national church was "much too superficial (*ringfertig*)."[169] The need of the true Christian life was not sufficiently stressed and the masses of the population were clearly under the impression that they could be Christians without taking their profession seriously.

Probably the most frequently quoted statement of Zwingli, asserting that the Brethren taught perfectionism, is the following: "Those who among us have caused the controversy in regard to

163 *Ibid.*, fol. 190b, 69b.

164 Kessler, *Sabbata*, p. 148.

165 Cf. note 141.

166 Bullinger, *Widertöufferen ursprung*, fol. 230b.

167 *Probier-Stein*, p. 432.

168 Bullinger, *Widertöufferen ursprung*, fol. 107b.

169 *Ibid.*, 104a.

baptism had previously often asked us to organize a new church or meeting. They thought that they could gather a church which was without sin."[170] In making this statement Zwingli failed to consider that, if the church which they planned was to be sinless, he could not be the leader in such a church, for, as the Brethren were fully aware, he did not accept the doctrine of sinless perfection. The well authenticated fact that the Brethren asked him to accept the leadership in a New Testament church, in accordance with his former program, shows that his statement concerning a sinless church is unfounded. Such self-contradictory statements regarding the Brethren, as the above, have been uncritically accepted by many writers.

Zwingli's arguments, as found in his *Book on Baptism,* to show that the Brethren taught perfectionism are unconvincing. His own statements indicate that they denied the charge, and show furthermore that he was in doubt whether they held this doctrine.[171] Nevertheless he attempts to prove his accusation by inferences from certain other views which he ascribed to them. Yet he would have considered it an injustice if he had been accused of holding a doctrine which he publicly denied. His reasoning in his attempt to show the Brethren to be perfectionists is far-fetched and self-contradictory. To the assertion that they believed their church to be sinless,[172] Hans Lüti, one of their spokesmen, in the disputa-

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170 *Zwinglis Werke,* vol. IV, p. 206 f.

171 Zwingli attempted to deduce from the fact of their separation from the state church that they believed themselves to be without sin. (*Zwinglis Werke,* vol. IV, p. 209). And yet he states at the same time that one of them whom he asked personally whether he was without sin, replied, "Would to God that all men knew their failings as I do my own." (*Ibid.,* p. 231). Cf. *Ibid.,* 230. The curious assertion of Zwingli (*Ibid.,* p. 253 f) that they believed themselves to be sinlessly perfect, because, if any one was in danger to sin, his brethren would prevent it by warning him, was repeated in *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* by Emil Egli, vol. I, p. 329.

172 Professor Walther Köhler remarks that, according to a statement made by Felix Manz to Zwingli, no one could or should be in the Brethren Church except those who knew that they were without sin. (*Gedenkschrift,* p. 56). It is not by any means certain that Manz made such a statement; on the contrary, it is unbelievable. It was Zwingli who testified that Manz made this statement to him. But Zwingli was notoriously inaccurate in his unfavorable assertions about the Brethren. And he added that when he asked Manz "whether he would be one of them (who thought themselves to be without sin), he gave him no satisfactory answer." (*Actensammlung,* p. 309). Moreover, Manz' own account of this interview with Zwingli does not agree with the latter's statement. (*Ibid.,* p. 311). Professor Köhler suggests that the Brethren may have taught the possibility of perfect sinlessness without pretending that they had actually attained to it. The view that they defended this possibility is unwarranted by the evidence.

tion of Bern, 1538, replied: "If we were perfect, we could do without church discipline."[173]

In their booklet *Vindication* the Brethren protested against the opinion "that it is possible for no one to live according to the Gospel and be obedient to the divine commands and to keep them, or to believe in Christ and die to sin according to the requirements and doctrine of the Gospel."[174] "In our time," says Conrad Grebel, "every one hopes to be saved by a faith which consists of outward appearance, without the fruits of faith . . . and while remaining in the old life of sin."[175]

Hans Marquart, a minister of the Swiss Brethren, expressed himself on the point in question before the Council of St. Gall, in 1532. Vadian, in his *Diary,* states that "in the presence of the multitude which had gathered, he set forth with Scripture the foundation of his faith."[176] Following is a synopsis of his address as reported by Vadian:

> He first spoke of the grace and mercy of God and of His purpose in sending His Son into the world. He pointed out what Christ has accomplished by word and deed, and what He has done and obtained for us, and that we through Him are called to repentance, and through the rite of baptism are buried into His death, and through such realization have died to sin and are risen with Him. For all who are children of God and would manifest the meaning of baptism, must lead a pure life and must truly repent; they must shun all sin and vice, put their trust in the true God through Christ, His Son, walk in steadfast hope and sincere faith; they must neither by cunning nor by force work ill to their neighbor nor burden themselves with the fruits of sin, in order that all believers may be an elect, separated, pure, pious, holy church, and continue to be the bride of Christ, our Head, Savior, and Mediator, being kept by Him unto eternal salvation. For not the impure, not the thieves, not the drunkards, not the adulterers, not the blasphemers, not the warriors or those who shed blood, not the idolaters and those who hold to false doctrine, not the hypocrites, not the usurers and lovers of money will inherit the kingdom of God,[177] but only those who, dying to sin, to the flesh and to all evil desires, do not give place to these sins but walk

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173 *Acta des gesprächs,* fol. 94.

174 Bullinger, *Widertöufferen ursprung,* fol. 230 b.

175 *Gedenkschrift,* p. 90.

176 Vadian remarks in the same connection that Marquart supported everything with clear Scripture.

177 There were obviously good reasons why these sins were enumerated. There is convincing evidence that the introduction of the Reformation by the civil authorities did not result in moral betterment on the part of the population. Only one of the many evidences to the point can here be given. Heinrich Bullinger

in the will of the heavenly Father through the grace of His Son Jesus Christ in the power and assistance of the Holy Spirit.[178]

One of the spokesmen of the Brethren in the disputation at Zofingen said:

From these Scripture passages it is clear that a faith which is without works is no faith and does not avail before God. It is a mouth confession but a denial by the works. . . . The Kingdom of God does not consist in words nor in boasting but in the power of God.[179]

Martin Weniger wrote in 1535 in his *Rechenschaft* (confession):

The preachers [of the state church] teach, contrary to Paul, Rom. 6:18, that one may not be made free from sin and become the servant of righteousness, but must sin to the grave, and no one can keep God's commandments. This is contrary to I John chapters 3 and 5. The apostle testifies that Christ has borne our sins in His own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness. I Pet. 2:24. . . . If Christ's kingdom is truly within us (Luke 17), we obtain grace to do the will of God and serve Him acceptably with reverence and godly fear (Heb. 12:28). If we are under grace (Rom. 6:14), sin cannot reign in our mortal bodies (Rom. 6:12), for Christ died for all that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves but unto Him who died for them and rose again (II Cor. 5:15). . . . John says, If we say we have fellowship with Him and walk in darkness (that is in sin, Eph. 5:11), we lie and do not the truth.[180]

Pilgram Marbeck wrote:

We recognize as true Christian faith only such a faith through which the Holy Spirit and the love of God come into the heart,

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wrote in his larger book against the Brethren: "The Anabaptists are not out of place, when they hear any one curse and swear, to reprove him saying that it is contrary to God. There is no doubt that people in general [the rank and file of the state church membership] sin very grievously against God by their frequent wicked, yea devilish swearing. And it is in our time not only the rude men of war who swear, but also the commoners and craftsmen, *yea the preachers themselves,* the wives and daughters and children. And this cursed, devilish custom of swearing is indulged in to such extent . . . that many use a swear word with almost every word they speak. Consider now for God's sake to what a pass things have come in these latter times, and that no other time [not in the time when Romanism held sway] God was blasphemed more ferociously than at the present time." (*Widertöufferen ursprung,* fol. 179a).

178 *Vadians Deutsche Historische Schriften,* vol. III, herausgegeben von Ernst Goetzinger, St. Gallen, 1879, p. 466.

179 *Zofingen,* fol. 37b.

180 *Rechenschaft Martin Wenigers genannt Lingky Ausz was ursachen sich die Täuffer von unsern Kirchen, Gottesdienst und Predigten absöndern,* 1535. (Spleisz, *Urkunden-Copien zur Geschichte der Schaffhauser Kirchenreformation,* vol. II, fol. 106f. Property of the Hist.-Antiq. Verein, Schaffhausen).

> and which is active, powerful, and operative in all outward obedience and commanded works. We believe that one is made a child of God and free from the law and the bondage of sin only through such a faith by which the Spirit, as the power of God, lives in the heart and does His work. There, then, is liberty. (II Cor. 3:17). . . . To such liberty one comes by abiding in the words of Christ (John 8:31) and through the law of the Spirit of life through which one is made free from the law of sin and death (Rom. 8:2), but not from the law of Christ, or from the obligation of obedience in the things which He has taught and commanded. This is disowned by Schwenckfeld [who denied the need of practicing the Christian ordinances].[181]

The Swiss Brethren, then, did not hold that the sinful nature is, or may be, fully eradicated, or that all propensity to sin is destroyed in the believer. They did not teach that the believer's own righteousness can ever become faultless before God, or that perfection and sinlessness are within human reach. They held that before Him who "searches hearts and reins" no one is perfect and sinless. One of their representatives, as noted above, confessed himself to be "before God one of the greatest of sinners."[182] They insisted therefore on the need of *bussfertigkeit*[183] which means a continuous state of repentance, due to a realization of unworthiness and of the need of divine forgiveness.

On the other hand, the Brethren strenuously insisted on recognizing the outstanding fact of "the exceeding sinfulness of sin;" that its nature is enmity against God. They believed that striving after holiness is the necessary fruit of saving faith. They

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181 Marbeck, *Antwort,* p. 152. Martin Bucer wrote in the earlier period of his labors in Strasburg, namely in 1523: "Now, hereby every one may determine what sort of faith he has. For if faith does not bring forth the fruit of self-denial and devotion to the service of all men, that the believer henceforth does not by any means live for self gratification but wholly for their neighbor, to the honor of God, he has not a true, sincere faith but a dead faith, yea indeed no faith at all. But if it brings these fruits, though weak and imperfect, faith is weak and imperfect." (*Das ym selbs niemant, sonder anderen leben sol, vnd wie der mensch dazu kummen moeg,* Martinus Butzer, Strasburg, 1523, sig. (D2v). And "the truly believing man has become a new man in Christ, a new creature who can no longer live to himself, but must live for the service of others and to God's glory." (*Ibid.,* sig. D3r).

182 Cf. note 160. A Christian, and yet the feeling of utter unworthiness? There is here no contradiction. The truth is that the experience of divine grace and the consequent conviction and inner assurance of the truth of the Gospel do not remove the realization of personal unworthiness and failing before God; these experiences heighten the realization.

183 At Zofingen the Brethren spoke of the need of "conversion from the world to God and from unrighteousness to a *busfertig* life. (fol. 45a). They emphasized "a Christian, *bussfertig* life." (*Ibid.,* p. 9b). Cf. *Acta des gesprächs,* fol. 30, 41, 49, 65, 87, 98, 269,

differed decidedly from state church Protestantism by emphasizing the fact that in Scripture justification by faith is inseparably connected with conversion and newness of life. They denounced as heresy the idea largely prevailing in state church Protestantism: That one may be a Christian (being justified by faith) without walking in newness of life and consecration to the service of God. They believed this error to be a source of disastrous confusion, and realized that it caused many who continued in the old life of sin to suppose that they were justified by faith. Zwingli in turn as indicated above, accused them of heresy in this regard, namely that they rejected the doctrine of justification by faith.

The Brethren held that the believer, having experienced regeneration through the Word and the Spirit, and having been endowed with the Holy Spirit, and having consecrated his life to the service of God, will not be the servant of sin. They believed that, while the life of the believer cannot be perfect before God, since human weakness will not be fully overcome, there is nevertheless no excuse for committing sin.[184] They believed it essential that the Christian's life be *unsträflich* (irreproachable), and held that it is possible for the believer to keep the commandments of the Lord, though not to perfection, and to lead a consistent Christian life. They believed that the true Christian life is a holy life of separation from sin and the world, a witness to the saving and keeping power of Christ, and that such a life alone is consistent with the Christian profession.

Christian Stewardship

An indication of the serious resolve of the early Swiss Brethren to live a life of practical holiness and consecration to the service of God and their neighbor is found in their teaching and practice regarding the use of earthly possessions. The principle of Christian stewardship, as held by them, was more than an abstract theory; they were seriously determined to carry it into practice.

Martin Bucer, a state church Protestant leader, criticised the Swiss Brethren for teaching that it is inconsistent for Christians to live in luxury while there are those who do not have the neces-

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[184] Claus Felbinger, an evangelist of the Hutterian Brethren, wrote in 1560: "We must distinguish between having sin and committing sin. No man is without sin [I John 1:8]; they are all partakers of the original sin of Adam." (Wiswedel, W., *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum*, vol. II, Kassel, 1930, p. 135.

sities of life, and whom they could help.[185] Hans Leopold, a minister of the Brethren in Augsburg, who suffered martyrdom in 1528, said that "if they know of any one that is in need, whether or not he is a member of their church, they believe it their duty, out of love to God, to render him help and aid."[186] Heinrich Seiler, who in 1535 was executed by drowning at Bern in Switzerland, said: "I do not believe it wrong that a Christian has property of his own, provided he will do right and share his goods with the needy, for he is nothing more than a steward."[187]

A book of the early Hutterites contains the statement that among the Swiss Brethren baptism was administered only to those who vowed "to consecrate themselves with all their temporal possessions to the service of God and His people."[188] In the Swiss Brethren congregation at Strasburg in Alsace applicants for membership were (in 1557) asked among other questions, "whether they are willing to devote all their possessions to the church and its needs, if necessity requires, and not to fail any member that is

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185 Lang, *Evangelienkommentar Martin Butzers*, p. 126. Bullinger, in his larger work, makes the charge that, in the view of the Brethren, to be rich is inconsistent with Christian principles (*"rych syn sye böss," Widertöufferen ursprung*, fol. 128b). They obviously believed that a point may be reached in the acquisition of material wealth, where further hoarding would be contrary to the principle of Christian stewardship and a clear violation of Jesus' teaching on wealth.

186 Kühn, J., *Toleranz und Offenbarung*, p. 231. Touching practical brotherly love, Pilgram Marbeck says in a treatise on the Lord's supper (having in mind the great controversy on this subject between the followers of Luther and Zwingli): "The apostle does not say, 'Examine the bread and wine, what it is,' but, 'Let a man examine himself;' for what the bread and wine is to the one who partakes of it, depends on the condition of his heart. Are you truly melted in the love of Christ and your neighbor? If with all your heart you are disposed to practice the example of Christ toward your brethren, and not alone toward your brethren but also toward friends and enemies, according to the words of the Lord Jesus, then the breaking of the bread and the partaking of the cup is truly a communion of the body and blood of Christ. But if your heart is evil and embittered against your neighbor, in envy or ill-will, or evil of any kind, of which you will not cease in true repentance, you will eat and drink damnation unto yourself by partaking of the bread and wine." (*Gedenkschrift*, p. 529).

187 Müller, E., *Bernische Täufer*, p. 44. On the attitude of the various Anabaptist sects to community of goods cf. Correll, E., *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum*, Tübingen, 1925, pp. 15 f. Heinrich Fryg who had united with the Brethren and after his imprisonment again withdrawn, testified later that they had advocated communism and had "almost persuaded him to sell his property and cease to work at his trade." (Egli, *Actensammlung*, p. 376). In the face of well-known pertinent facts, this statement, being that of an opponent, must be considered unfounded. Cf. Strasser, G., *Der schweizerische Anabaptismus zur Zeit der Reformation*, in Nippold, *Berner Beiträge*, 1884, p. 177.

188 *Verantwortung den Schweizern getan auf ihr Begehren*, 1567. Hutterian book in manuscript. The same statement is repeated elsewhere in this book.

in need, if they are able to render aid."[189] That this was in fact the position of the Swiss Brethren is corroborated by the testimony of Heinrich Bullinger who says that, according to their teaching, "every good Christian is under duty before God to use from motives of love all his possessions [if need be] to supply the necessaries of life to any of his brethren."[190]

In the disputation at Frankenthal, in 1571, the principal spokesman of the Brethren said:

> We confess that Christians may have private property without violating Christian love, always with the provision that they do not misuse it but at all times let their abundance serve the needs of the poor, as Paul teaches in II Cor. 8 and 9.[191]

V

The Doctrine of Predestination

There is a close relationship between the doctrine of predestination in its historic aspects and certain vital practical questions, such as, What constitutes a Christian? and, What is the Christian church? Zwingli was the first of the reformers to develop and teach the doctrine of predestination as it was later substantially adopted by John Calvin, and held by the Reformed bodies. It is of particular interest to note that Zwingli developed this doctrine in his great conflict with those who insisted that the church should consist of believers and should be neither state-made nor state-controlled. Zwingli believed that in the doctrine of predestination he had found an effective weapon for overcoming the opposition of the Brethren to state churchism.

The doctrine of predestination, implying the denial of the freedom of the will, was rejected by all "Anabaptists" in so far as they expressed themselves in their extant writings and recorded

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189 Hulshof, *Doopsgezinden te Straatsburg,* p. 214. A contemporary writer says concerning the early Brethren at Augsburg: "In their brotherhood there was in evidence the purpose to render each other the greatest possible help from motives of brotherly love." (Meyer, C., *Wiedertäufer in Schwaben,* Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, vol. XVIII, 1897, p. 252).

190 Bullinger, *Widertöufferen ursprung,* fol. 129 b.

191 *Protocoll Franckenthal,* p. 533. Professor Tschackert said of the Anabaptists (excluding the revolutionary and fanatical sects that shared this name) that they were "a voluntary Christian fellowship striving to conform to the Christian spirit for the practice of brotherly love." (*Die Entstehung der lutherischen und reformierten Kirchenlehre,* Göttingen, 1910, p. 133.

oral testimony.[193] The leaders of state church Protestantism, on the other hand, taught and defended this doctrine, although they did not all go to such extremes as did Zwingli after the rise of the Swiss Brethren movement.[194] Luther, in his principal theological work entitled, *On the Servitude of the Will,* published in 1525, defended the view that no creature in heaven and on earth is a free moral agent; nevertheless he did not give the doctrine of predestination the prominence which Zwingli and Calvin gave it.[195] The Lutheran Church, as stated later in the *Formula of Concord,* taught election, or foreordination, to eternal life only, not election to damnation. Zwingli taught that all that takes place is so foreordained of God. To deny this and to believe that God has granted free will to accept or reject salvation, was in his opinion to deny God's sovereignty. He believed that, whether a man is saved or lost, whether he accepts or spurns God's grace, he acts according to the will of God. In his writings Zwingli repeatedly made the statement that sin and crime are committed in agreement with God's determination and foreordination. God "drives" the thief and murderer, he says, to commit crime, and "drives" the magistrates to punish them.[196] Obviously, these views annul human responsibility.

In Zwingli's opinion the doctrine of predestination served a vital purpose in his severe conflict with the dissenters. As interpreted and taught by him it offered, in his opinion, strong ground for his assumption that the Brethren laid undue stress on the imperative need of practical Christian living. And yet, there had been at first perfect agreement in regard to this point between Zwingli, on the one hand, and Grebel and his friends, on the other. Zwingli had often stated in his earlier writings that faith alone is the cause and condition of personal salvation, and that only believers who have bidden adieu to the old life of sin are Christians. In 1524,

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193 John Knox wrote a book entitled, *An Answere to a Great Number of Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist and aduersarye of Gods eternall Predestination,* London, 1591.

194 "It must be most deeply regretted," says zur Linden, "that the reformers denied the freedom of the will, the main condition of all moral responsibility, and that they referred the cause of sin more or less back to God." (Zur Linden, F. O., *Melchior Hofmann, ein Prophet der Wiedertäufer,* Haarlem, 1885, p. 277).

195 On Luther's doctrine of predestination cf. Seeberg, R. *Die Lehre Luthers,* Leipzig, 1917, p. 153.

196 Concerning Zwingli's teaching on predestination cf. Baur, *Zwinglis Theologie,* vol. II, p. 731 f.; Köhler, *Huldreich Zwingli,* p. 86; Burckhart, P., *Huldreich Zwingli,* Zurich, 1918, p. 71; Köhler, W., *Die Geisteswelt Ulrich Zwinglis,* Gotha, 1920, p. 146.

for example he had written: "Only he is a Christian who has even now died to sin and the world, and walks in the ways of God, that is in the commands of Christ." And again he wrote at the same place: "From all this it is clear that those who continue in the old life of sin and yet profess to be Christians, are in reality denying God in act and deed."[197] Other passages of similar import could be quoted from his writings. However, in the great struggle with those who opposed the union of church and state and insisted on the need of establishing a New Testament church, Zwingli adopted quite another view, as we shall directly see. He defended the opinion that in reality not the believers but the elect or those predestined to be saved, are the children of God, though they may believe only at the time of their death. He developed the doctrine of predestination to such extremes as to disown his former definition of what constitutes a Christian.

Zwingli taught in later years that salvation does not primarily depend on faith, or on accepting God's offer of grace, and repenting, but on election (predestination). When Scripture speaks of salvation by faith, he says, what is really meant is salvation through election.[198] He held that in reality it is not faith but election that saves; faith is only the necessary result of election. Election is in his view entirely independent of what a man may do, or fail to do.[199] The elect, he says, include many who do not believe but will believe at the time of their death. All the elect are God's children and heirs of eternal glory even before they believe. Thus the teaching that only believers are Christians and the church should consist of believers becomes untenable. Not the believers but the elect are the Christians and should constitute the church, and since among those who do not believe there are many who are elect while, on the other hand, there are hypocrites among those who pretend to believe, a promiscuous church comprising the whole population, regardless of the present religious attitude of the individuals, is excusable. Zwingli wrote:

> It is sure that in God's eyes no one is of His people, or of His children except he whom He has elected, and it is also sure that every one whom He has elected is His. But in this way, O Anabaptists, all your foundation has fallen away. For not only believers as you would have it, or those who actually believe, are

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197 *Zwinglis Werke,* vol. III, p. 381. Cf. also the consecutive pages of the same volume.

198 Baur, *Zwinglis Theologie,* vol. II, p. 705.

199 *Ibid.,* p. 740.

> sons of God, but those who are elect are sons even before they believe. . . . The meaning of these words [he who believes shall be saved] is: If any one believes, ye shall know that he is elected by the Father, and predestined and called. He believes then because he has been elected and predestined to eternal salvation; and he who believeth not has been repudiated by the free determination of God.[200]

To the question, why is it that some of the elect do not believe when they first hear the Gospel message and do not live as Christians should, Zwingli replies that all this is so foreordained of God. Whether or not they believe and live a Christian life is not a matter of their own choice, for there is no free will for human beings. It follows that he who continues in sin has not the grace needed to turn from his sin unto God. Zwingli also believed that predestination furnishes strong ground for infant baptism. One of his main arguments for infant baptism is based on the doctrine of predestination.[201]

There is convincing evidence that in the state churches there was an obvious neglect of emphasizing the imperative need of practical Christian living. To this neglect the doctrine of predestination and the denial of free will was closely related. To take the Christian profession so seriously as to believe striving after holiness to be necessary was to run the risk of being considered unorthodox. There was danger of the suspicion of "Anabaptist" tendencies, as will be further shown. Zwingli accused the Brethren of substituting justification by works for the doctrine of justification by faith. He did this for the reason that they urged the need of "walking in the resurrection of Christ," as stated in the first article of the confession of Schleitheim. He quotes from that article, omitting, however, an essential part which treats on remission of sin through Christ.[202] He comments on that article as follows:

> When they [the Brethren] say that remitted are the sins of all who are willing to walk in the resurrection of Christ and to be buried into His death, they teach free will and, in accordance with it, justification by works. For if it were in our choice or power to walk in the resurrection of Christ, or to be buried with Him in death, it would be possible for any one to be a Christian, and indeed the best Christian. Then Christ would have spoken

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200 Jackson, *Selected Works*, p. 241 f. Cf. Baur, *Zwinglis Theologie*, vol. II, p. 686, 706.

201 *Ibid.*, p. 245 f.

202 For the text of this article see page 129.

falsely the words: "No one can come unto me except the Father who sent me draw him."[203]

These and a number of similar statements of Zwingli show that, in his, opinion, the unsatisfactory moral and spiritual conditions in the state and church which, under prevailing circumstances could not be remedied, were excusable.

Zwingli's strange interpretation of the above cited words of Christ was, as a matter of fact, repudiated by the Brethren. They did indeed not deny that only through divine grace can the sinner turn to God; they believed, however, that such grace is offered to all. Hans Langenmantel, a leader of the Brethren at Augsburg in Swabia, who suffered martyrdom in 1528, wrote on this point:

> Daily we must hear from the leading [Protestant] preachers and from many persons everywhere: "We would gladly do the right, if we had the grace from God. . . ." Many cry out and preach: "He whom God has predestinated to be saved, will be saved, and whoever is predestinated to be lost, will be lost." These two statements [namely, that God's grace which is needed to forsake sin is not extended to all, and that only those predestinated for salvation can be saved] are really identical in meaning. Let all men through God and Jesus Christ, His Son, be cautioned that this is great but unrecognized blasphemy against God, of which Christ has faithfully warned us.[204]

Again, the same writer says:

> I must yet speak of a great defamation of God, namely the misapplication of the words, "No man comes to the Son except the Father draw him." They apply these words thus: If the Father would draw them, they would forsake sin, but since He does not draw them, they cannot do so. They say that they do not have the grace to abstain from sin. Such falsehoods are verily of Satan who is the father of all lies. . . . Oh, where will the calumniators of God remain who accuse Him in such a way and say that they do not have the grace.[205]

Balthasar Hubmaier, the leader of a group of Anabaptists in Moravia, wrote:

> Although for a number of years great earnestness and diligence has been shown in an effort toward preaching the Gospel to all

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[203] Jackson, *Selected Works*, p. 179.

[204] *Ein Göttlich vnnd gründtlich offenbahrung von den warhafftigen widerteuffern, mit Göttlicher warhait angezaigt*, 1527, sig A2r. There is some doubt regarding the authorship of this book. The author may have been Jacob Dachser, another leader of the Brethren in Augsburg.

[205] *Ibid.*, sig. A2v. In later periods the doctrine of predestination, while held by the theologians of the Reformed bodies, was scarcely taught the people at large. The famous Heidelberg Catechism of the Reformed Church has only a veiled allusion to this doctrine.

creatures, I find nevertheless a very large portion of the people who, alas, have learned and understood only two things from all the preaching. The first is that they say: We believe; it is faith that saves us. The other is: We can do nothing that is good; God works in us to will and to do; we have no free will.[206] Now, such assertions are only half-truths and lead to wrong conclusions. . . . Under the cloak of these half-truths evil and trouble of various kinds have increased.[207]

Again Hubmaier says:

It would be a deceptive god, who would call all men to the supper and with great earnestness offer his mercy to all, would nevertheless not desire that they should come.[208] It would be a false god who with his mouth would say, "Come," but in his heart, "Stay away."[209]

Pilgram Marbeck also referred to the "blasphemous" doctrine of predestination.[210] Menno Simons speaks of Zwingli's state-

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206 On free will the confession drawn up by Jan Centsen and adopted in 1630 by a group of Swiss Brethren churches (in the Netherlands generally called High German Brethren) and a Friesian Mennonite group, has the following: "We believe that the Lord left to man, after the fall as well as before it, his free will to accept the proffered grace of God through faith in the promised Saviour, or to reject it." (*Bloody Theatre or Martyrs Mirror,* p. 32).

207 Mau, W., *Balthasar Hubmaier,* Berlin, 1912, p. 128. The doctrine of the Brethren on free will and predestination means that man's eternal destiny is determined by his own attitude toward God. This places a stupendous responsibility on the individual. It was necessary to give man this responsibility and endow him with free will. Without moral responsibility it would have been impossible for him to serve God acceptably. Forced service cannot be true service of God. Sin is the reverse of God's purpose and plan; it is rebellion against God; it is guilt. The sinner who persists in frustrating the proffered grace defeats God's plan as far as his own life is concerned. God does not compel him to bow to His will. Man was created with the possibility of being saved or lost according to his own choice.

208 The following excerpts regarding the will of God for the salvation of all men are taken from the larger Friesian Mennonite Confession, drawn up about 1600: "On the other hand, we reject the belief of those who say that, though Almighty God has caused the word of reconciliation to be preached to all, or to many, He nevertheless withholds His grace from many of them, so that the greater part of mankind cannot accept the message of salvation and be saved, but because of the predestination and the eternal counsel and will of God, must inevitably perish and be lost. . . . But in no wise is it true that the gracious, merciful, righteous God (who does not deviate from His holy nature), has from eternity decreed, ordained or predestinated and created the greater number of the human race unto eternal damnation. . . . . Far be it from us to believe this to be true of the only good and righteous God." (*Bloody Theatre,* p. 367 f).

209 Loserth, J., *Doctor Balthasar Hubmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertaufe in Mähren,* Brünn, 1893, p. 163.

210 *Gedenkschrift,* p. 233. The marginal title of the passage is, "Against the Preachers of Predestination." These titles are omitted in the reprint of the book in the *Gedenkschrift.*

ment that the sinner is not responsible for his evil deeds as "an abomination above all abominations."[211]

A side light on this subject may be worth noticing from the history of the Reformation in the Swiss city of St. Gall. In this city the civil authorities took at first a friendly, tolerant attitude toward the Brethren. Among the hundreds who, in consequence, united with the Swiss Brethren in that city there were obviously many who would have refrained from doing so, had they not believed that toleration by the civil authorities would be permanent. They were disappointed in this expectation, and their subsequent actions indicated an unwillingness to bear persecution for their faith. When, in June, 1525, the Council of the city reversed its attitude and took steps toward suppressing the Swiss Brethren Church, many who had been baptized upon the confession of their faith resolved to return into the national church. Under pressure of persecution they decided to profess a faith which they did not share, acting the hypocrite instead of showing a willingness to suffer for the faith. Against the dictates of conscience, and contrary to what they believed to be their duty, they "permitted the executioner to teach them another faith,"[212] to use an expression of Balthazar Hubmaier. It goes without saying that this had an unfortunate, dissipating effect on their character unless they repented of their apostasy.

Heinrich Bullinger, in his larger work, relates that some of the "Anabaptists" who, in conformity with the religious decrees of the state, recanted their faith, "became very reckless and wanton."[213] Dr. Paul Burkhardt, in his work on the Swiss Brethren in Basel, makes a similar statement.[214] Again, Martin Bucer wrote concerning the Brethren: "Those who yield and recant, do so as a rule against their conscience; therefore they either again join

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211 *Opera,* p. 311a; *Works,* vol. II, p. 294b. Menno Simons says further on the doctrine of predestination: "What shall I say, dear Lord? Shall I say that Thou hast ordained the wicked to wickedness, as some have said? Be that far from me! I know, O Lord, that Thou art good and nothing evil can be found in Thee." (*Opera,* p. 17a; *Works,* vol. II, p. 22b).

212 Hubmaier, in the preface to one of his books, says of Zwingli, after he had been subjected to imprisonment and severe torture in Zurich: "Me, a sick man just risen from a death-bed, hunted, exiled and having lost everything I possessed, he undertook to teach another faith through the hangman." (*Ein gesprech Balthasar Hübmörs von Fridberg Doctors, Auf Mayster Vlrichs Zwinglens zu Zuerich Tauffbuchlen von dem Kindertauff,* Die warhayt ist vntödtlich. Nicolspurg, 1526, fol. A2b. Cf. Vedder, H. C., *Balthasar Hübmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists,* New York, 1905, p. 129.

213 *"Sind hernach gar wüst und wild worden." Widertöufferen ursprung,* fol. 15 b.

214 Burckhardt, *Basler Täufer,* p. 108.

them [the Brethren] or renounce all religion and become very inpious indeed, as I have seen in very many instances."[215] For this reason Bucer disapproved of using severe measures of persecution against them.

At St. Gall the number of those who, when persecution arose, forsook the Swiss Brethren Church, was evidently larger than at any other place in Switzerland. They had done nothing contrary to the orders of the state by uniting with the Brethren and became indignant when the state reversed its attitude and undertook the suppression of the movement. The contemporary chronicler Johannes Kessler, of the same city, states that they showed great indignation when "Anabaptism" was made a crime.[216] Among those who recanted their faith, rather than to bear persecution, there were some who decided to carry into practice with a vengeance certain teachings of the state church which were offensive to them. Some of them resolved to make trouble for the state church by practising the doctrine of the denial of free will. Johannes Kessler says concerning them:

> When they were taught that man has no free will, but God does everything, as is indeed true, they fell into presumptuousness. They declared that they would neither do nor abstain from doing anything. They sat down as if they were logs of wood, and said if God meant to do anything through them, it would come to pass.[217]

Some of them asserted that they would have food without working for it if it was so predestinated. One brandished a sword saying that he could not kill any one nor do any one harm except by the will of God. The extravagances of these men who under persecution had, contrary to their conviction and the dictates of their conscience, denied their faith, and had in consequence become reckless and perverse, were, strange to say, blamed on the Anabaptists, when, as a matter of fact, those who perpetrated these things had again returned into the national church, as will be further shown elsewhere.

(To be continued)

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215 Lenz, M., *Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipps des Grossmüthigen von Hessen mit Bucer,* vol. I, Leipzig, 1880, p. 51.

216 Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 148.

217 *Ibid.,* p. 153.

RESEARCH NOTES

Die Briefe der Österreichischen Taeufer, von Dr. Robert Friedmann (*The Letters of the Austrian Anabaptists, by Dr. Robert Friedmann*).

This excellent piece of work appeared in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* volume XXVI, 1929, at Leipzig. After a splendid historical introduction which gives not only a survey of the history of Anabaptism but also a description of the essence of the movement with unusual insight, the author presents a quite exhaustive catalog of the manuscript prose literature of the Hutterian Brethren. One follows with increasing astonishment the work of the learned author. His work completes what Joseph Beck began in his *Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer,* Vienna, 1893. The entire rich content of two codices is given us in detail. This enables us to appreciate the richness of the entire collection of manuscripts.

Epistelbüchlein. C(aspar) A(rtloff), MDLXXXI.
Codex Artloff oder O bei Beck (Zitation: Cod. O.)

Aus der erzbischöflichen Primatial Bibliothek zu Gran. Sign. Mss. III 128; Papiercodex klein-8,374 fol. Blatt, geschrieben 1581, Widmung von 1585.

Titel: Epistelbüchlein. C(aspar) A(rtloff), MDLXXXI. Besitzer der Tuchmacher Artloff.

Register: *Peter Walpot,* Von der Tauff, Abendmahl und Gemeinschaft. Ein Sendbrief an die Schweizer Brüder am Rheinstrom. /über die Ehescheidung. /(1577)
Ein Brief an Leonhart Dax gefangen zu Altzey. (1568).
Seine letzte Red mit den Eltesten. (gest. 1578).
Michl Madschilder, Ein Brief der Gemain Gottes im Mährerland. (ausdem Gefängnis zu Wien, 1546).
Vier Brüder von Wien, An die Gemain. 3 Episteln. (1546).
Hans Staudach, Ein Sendbrief an seine eeliche Schwester aus dem gefenkhnus in Wien an Wolf Sailer und Kaspar Braitmichl geschrieben (1546).
Hänsel Schmidt (oder Raiffer) 13 Sendbriefe an seine eeliche:
2 Sendbriefe an seine mitgefangene Schwester Katharina Feyhe Pietsch.
1 Sendbrief an seine mitgef. Brüdern und Schwestern.
3 Sendbriefe an seine mitgef. Brüder Hch. Tillman u. Hans Werner.
1 Sendbrief an Hans Arbaiter.
1 Sendbrief an die geschwistriget, die vom Rheinstrom nach Mähren gezogen sind, wo sie hin und wieder wohnen.
1 Epistl an die gmain Gottes in Mähren. (alles geschrieben im Gefängnis zu Aachen 1558).

Klein Hänsel (Hans Maendel).
Ein Sendbrief an die eltesten der gmain. (1561).
Ein Sendbrief an die eiffrigen ins oberlandt.
Copey eines Busbriefs, an etliche eiffrigen geschreben.
Hans Kitzbüchler, Ein Sendbrief an die Schwestern in der Baumwollenstuben (1561).
Johannes Bair, Ein Sendbrief an seine Brüder geschrieben in einem finstern Loch zu Bamberg (1547).
Veit Uhrmacher (Grünberger) Verantwortung und Rechenschaft (1573).
Marx und Bernhard Kampfferer Verantwortung, zu Wien getan in ihrem gefenkhnus (1573).
Franzisco Wälsch, Ein Sendbrief von Venedig in seinen Banden allen fromben in Mährern, in wälscher Sprach, aufs treulichst verdeutscht (1563).
Unbekannt, Ein Epistel an seine Brüder.
Ein Sendbrief an die Gemain aus Wien.
. . . Verzeichnis etlicher Brüder unserer eltesten, wo sie gerichtet und entschlafen sind, und wie lange jeder über die gmain regiert hat (bis 1565 — abgedruckt: Beck 277).
(Braitmichl), Wahrhafte Beschreibung von der Zerspaltung zu Aussitz.
— Die Artikl, die wir wider den Philipp und Gabriel haben.
— Wie sich die Gebrieliter mit uns vereinigt haben, in Hauptartikeln (1545).
(Braitmichl), Verantwortung des Gabrielerbrieff.
— Abschrift des Briefes, so man dem Richter sampt den Bürgern gegen Gallitz (Holitsch) geschrieben hat.
— Abschrift des Briefs, so des Kasper Schmidt halber dem Herrn Wätzlowe zugeschrieben ist worden.
— Von den Bergen Israels (eine geographische Schilderung).

Wiener Codex

Codex aus der Universitätsbibliothek *Wien; Sign.* Mschta. I., 340: früher—so noch bei Beck—Universitätsbibliothek zu Budapest Sign. VIII g 39: stammt ursprünglich von den PP Jesuiten in Skalitz) Papiercodex klein-8, 431 fol. Blatt und 6 Blatt Titel und Register, geschrieben 1577.

Titel: Ein Büchlein, darin etliche schöne Episteln und Sendbriefe, geschrieben von unseren lieben Brüdern und Zeugen der göttlichen Wahrheit, geschrieben in ihren Gefenknussen, und sonst hin und wieder. Allen Fromben gar tröstlich zu lesen. Zitation: Wiener Codex.

„Hier volgt ein Register": (enthält 39 Stücke)
(*Ulrich Stadler,* gest. 1540) Gott der gnädige und langmütige Vater.
Ein Epistel von den lieben Brüdern von *Falkenstein* (1540).
(*Stadler*) Ein Eingang ins Christentum.

Von der Erbsünde, geschickt von Ladomir in Potolien geen Chras-

nikiau (d. i. Krasnikow) in Polen, den Kindern Gottes zu lesen. (1563; Schreibfehler, da richtig 1536 stehen sollte).
Von den Gemeinschaft der Heiligen hier und dort.

Ein Sendbrief von *Jörg Rack* und *Stachius Kotter,* geschrieben an die Hauer bei der gmain in Mährhern, 1561, aus dem gefenkhnus zu Innspruck, im Kräuterturm.

Glaubensbekenntnus dreier Mannspersonen mit *Hans Mändl, Eustachius Kotter* und *Jörg Rack,* welche man deswegen alle drei am 13. tag des mandats (Juli) 1561 zu Innspruck auf dem schweinanger bei der Schiesshütten enthauptet und nachvolgend sampt den Hans Mändel zu Asche verbrennt hat.

Ein Sendbrief von *Hänsel Schmidt* (Raiffer) an die geschwistriget im Haushaben und Schuelen und Diensten der gmain gottes. (1558).

Ein Sendbrief von Hänsel Schmidt, den er hat in den Brüdern geschrieben, gef. zu Aach.

Ein anderer Sendbrief von Hänsel Schmidt an seine gar lieben Brüder, und Schwestern zu Aach, seine Mitgefangenen im Herrn.
Ein schöner Brief an meine sonder gar lieben Brüder, allen eltesten der gmain gottes . . . wo sie sein versammlet oder zerstreut umb der Wahrheit Gottes willen. Von Klein Hänsel, oder *Mändl,* gefangen umb das Wort Gottes willen auf der Fellenburg bei Innspruck. (151).

Ein Anzeigung von Zwiespalt der gemain in Mähren, wie sich der erhebt hat. (1533. Kaspar Braitmichl?).

Hier volgt der Gesang der drei Männer im Feuerofen (Daniel 3) aus dem Griechischen. Das Gebet Manasa, des Königs Juda, da er gefangen war zu Babel. (Beides aus der Septuaginta.)

Von Knechten und Dienern Gottes, wie sie die göttliche zeuckhnus nennt und heisst.

Von den falschen Propheten und verführerischen Menschen und Apostlen u. ihre Name.

Die Epistel vom *Jakob Hutter* an die Gefaengenen zu Hohenwart (N. Oe.), gesendt von Auspitz. (1534).

Die ander Epistel von Jakob Hutter, an die gemein in Mährhern, geschrieben aus der Grafschaft Tirol. (1535).

Die erste Epistel von *Hans Amon,* den Brüdern in Banden auf Falckenstein. (1539).

Ein Sendbrief von *Ludwig Fest* der gmain gottes zu Rottenburg am Inn. (1533).

Ein Epistel von *Michl Behem* an die gmain Gottes in Mährhern (1536).

Ein Sendbrief von Klein Hänsel oder Mändl an die Geschwistriget im Herrn, so im Etschland hin und wieder wohnen. (1560).

Rechenschaft von unsern lieben Brüdern *Jeronime Käels, Michl Säfensieder oder Behem),* und *Hans (Oberrecker),* welche man zu Wien umb der göttlichen Wahrheit willen verbrennt hat (1536).

Die Epistl Jeronimus an sein Ehegemahel.

Die ander Epistl Jeronime an seine Mitgefangen.

Die Epistl *Leonhard Schiemer,* item ein Vorred, darin begriffen, was Gottes genadt sei. Anno 1527 jahr. Die dreierlei genadt (wie mans pflegt zu heissen).

Von der ersten gnadt.
Von der andern gnadt.
Volgt hernach, wie die Heiden beten.
Von der dritten gnadt.
Von dem Tauff.

Ein Trostbrief an einen schwachen Brüder von mir Leonhard Schiemer aus meinen banden. — (1527)

Ein Epistl Leonhard Schiemers an die gmain Gottes zu Rottenburg (am Jnn), darin eine hibsche erklärung der zwelf artikeln des christlichen glaubens. (Diese Epistel ist besonders kalligraphiert).

Die erste Epistel von unserem lieben Bruder *Jakob Huter,* den auserwählten Heilige u. Kindlen Gottes, seinen l. Brüdern u. Schwestern im Herrn zu handen (1535). (Dieser Brief ist der letzt gesendte durch den Bruder Jeronimo von Jakob Huter).

Ein Sendbrief von *Klaus Schlosser* (*Felbinger*) an die gmain Gottes in Mährhern.

Ein Abgeschrift des Sendbriefs, so Jakob Huter für sich selbst und an staat aller Brüder dem Landeshauptmann in Mährern zugeschrieben und geschickt hat. (1535).

Ein kurtze Epistel von *Jakob Huter,* darin sein Urtl und Gericht um des Namen Gottes mit kurzen Worten angezeigt ist. (1536).

Die Epistel; *Kuenz Füchter,* der gmain in der Grafschaft Tyrol. Gesendt von Sterzig. (1532).

Jörg Wagner, gest. 1527, zu München, kein Huterer.

Ein schön Epistl von unserm aines glaubensgenossen, wie hernach wird volgen.

Nineteen of such collections of epistles or epistle books were found by Dr. Friedmann in the list which Joseph Beck had given and yet very many more books of this type exist. All these books are extant only in manuscript. It is quite remarkable that the Hutterian Brethren had almost nothing printed. Except for the writings of Riedemann which have been mentioned, a brief Reply by Klaus Braidl to the attacks of Andreas Fischer (1604), the pastor at Feldsberg, and two little booklets by Andreas Ehrenpreis (ca. 1650), no other printed writings from the circles of the Hutterites are known to Dr. Friedmann. It is of course possible that many a little tract was printed which is no more extant. However it seems that the Hutterian Brethren had a conscience against exposing their holiest possessions of faith to the general public. When they were asked for their books, as for instance Dr. Daniel Zeicher did in 1650, or the Moravians did in Russia (cf. J. Müller in *Zeit-*

schrift für Brüdergeschichte, 1910, p. 222). The books were gladly given.

Dr. Friedmann proceeds further to describe the letters according to their extent and artistic form, their able style, and their remarkably deep religious content, as well as in the light of their meaning for the Brethren. His work here is of the best that has ever been written about Anabaptism. I cannot enter into the details but can only summarize and say that he describes about 280 letters, five of which are addressed to the rulers or the authorities, 60 addressed to individuals, and 215 addressed to collective addresses such as for instance, "to the church in Moravia" or "to the dear Brethren here and there, wherever they are scattered." The letters are of inspirational nature and are composed in the style of the apostolic epistles.

Dr. Friedmann concludes his splendid work with a very valuable list of the sources used and a quite exhaustive bibliography on the Anabaptist movement in Austria. In the bibliography he includes the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW with special recognition for the articles on the Hutterites by John Horsch.

Weierhof, Germany. D. THEOL. CHRISTIAN NEFF.